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MYSTIC TEACHINGS
OF THE
HARIDĀSAS OF KARNĀTAK

by

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WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION
on
THE ORIGIN OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND ASCETICISM

by

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Mahatma M. K. Gandhi

The Living Mystic of the Land,

who has imbibed in himself all the spirit contained
in the following lines of the great Purandaradāsa :

*“ I fear not prison nor do I fear for my body. I
fear not snake nor scorpion nor the edge of the sword;
one thing only I fear, one I dread within ; other's
money, other's woman—these two I fear ; I remember
Kaurava and Rāvaṇa and what happened to them and
pray : Save me from Evil, Purandara Viṭhala.”*

(Cf. p. 49)

POSTSCRIPT AND CORRIGENDA

PAGE	line	ERROR	CORRECTION
1	15	Rev. H. Heras, S. J., writes: "As regards your work you surmised that Āṇ, Āṇil and Ammā (Amā, in ancient times) are the proto-types of S'iva, Gaṇapati and Pārvati. Aṇ is the proto-type of S'iva and Amā of Pārvati; but Āṇil is the proto-type of Kārtikēya or Subrahmaṇya. He is mentioned in one of the inscriptions with the ancient Dravidian name Mūrugan."	
4	28	The line is also read as : <i>Yadihāsti tadanyatra yannehāsti na tat kvachit</i> (I. 56, 63).	
10	21	Dāsas was	Dāsas wore
58	11	forms".	forms." 1
124	15	lead	led

PREFACE

THE various religious activities of the Kaṇanirs or Kannaḍigas in historic times still remain behind the veil. Besides the so-called heterodox systems *i.e.* Buddhism and Jainism, Karnāṭak can claim to have reared the three famous schools of Devotion, namely those of the Haridāsas, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas and the Vīraśaivas respectively. In this land all these schools of faith are equally revered and respected by their thousands of adherents even to this day. The present monograph deals with the Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas.

2. *Plan of work* : All the materials for the life-sketches of the Haridāsas were drawn, and the work of the sifting of the Kannaḍa songs and the rendering of the same into English was done, by the authors at joint-sittings. One fact, however, deserves to be noted in this connection that the idea in regard to the origin and development of the Dravidian religion detailed in the work (Chapter I. i) by Mr. A. P. Karmarkar, is from what was expressed before him, while in furtherance of his Ph. D. studies, by his revered Teacher The Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

3. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, for his illuminating Historical Introduction for our work. In fact we have not words to express all that we feel when we think of all the precious time this eminent savant—the Sole Master in the field of Dravidian Research, has spared in making this work ‘a Perfection.’

We have to express our gratefulness to Principal A. C. Farran, M. A., I. E. S. (*Chairman*), Prof. S. S. Malwad, M. A., (*Secretary*), Mr. H. F. Kattimani, M. A. (*K. V. V. Sangha*) and all those members of the Kannaḍa Culture Research

Committee, whose sympathies alone are responsible for bringing this work to the light of the day. We are equally indebted to the members of the Book-Committee, Karnāṭak Vidyāvārdhak Sangha, for recommending this little volume for its being published as a 'Government of Bombay Kannaḍa Research Grant Publication.' Our heartfelt thanks are due to Mr. L.B. Kalamdani, Advocate, Mr. S. N. Punekar, M.A., LL.B., Mr. V. N. Onkar, Advocate, and Prof. L.G. Patel, B.A., B.Sc., for making valuable suggestions during the preparation of the work. We also heartily thank Dr. K. S. Kamalapur, M.B., B.S., Sjt. Bindumadhavacharya Burli (*Joint Secretaries*) and Mr. V. R. Sashital, B.A. (*Hons.*), *Secretary*, I. H. R. Institute, Bombay, for creating all the facilities during the publication of the work. We are thankful to Mr. D. Bhimacharya, *Librarian*, Mr. B. Anderson, *Librarian*, I. H. R. Institute, Mr. K. B. Kuknur, *Librarian*, K. V. V. Sangha, for providing us with the necessary facilities connected with this work. The decent printing and get up of the work is mainly due to the untiring zeal and energy of Mr. V. Y. Jathar, B.Sc., of the Karnatak Printing Works, Dharwar. We heartily thank him for the same.

The diacritical marks are sparingly used in the case of ई, ए and ओ, wherever the words are deemed to be of common occurrence.

DHARWAR,

Gaṇeśa-Chaturthī, 16th September, 1939.

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Other works, often equally important with the foregoing, are cited fully in the individual chapters and therefore not repeated here.

THE ORIGIN OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND ASCETICISM

AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Materialistic element in the early Pantheism of the *Rgveda*—Rise of new ideas in the Upaniṣadic period—Âtman—Karman—Transmigration of Souls—Revelation of God to man—Practice of Asceticism—Philosophy and Asceticism preached in the Upaniṣads essentially Dravidian in origin—Asceticism in Pre-Vedic period—Mystic Teachings of the Haridāśas of Karmāṣaka—Their similarity with the old Upaniṣadic principles.

I

While studying Indian Philosophy and asceticism, the first book that is always cited as the basis of all Indian philosophic and ascetic talk is the *Rgveda*. And yet there is no book in India so anti-philosophic and so devoid of any ascetical ideals as the *Rgveda* is.

Philosophy is a science of precision and in the *Rgveda* everything is vague and full of doubts. First of all there is no certainty at all as regards the nature of god. The Vedic gods are called *parokṣapriyāḥ*, i.e., "lovers of mysteries."¹ The Vedic gods are always delighted with whatever is

1 *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 33; VII, 30; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 5; IX, 2; *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 1; I, 2; XIV, 6; XI, 2,

obscure and hate whatever is clear and obvious.¹ The Ṛgvedic poets do not know who is the supreme god. The god whom they actually address is always the supreme deity for them. When they sing a hymn to Indra, Indra is the supreme god ; when they recite a prayer to Sūrya, Sūrya is above all the gods. When an offering is being made to Varuṇa, Varuṇa is the highest and most powerful in heaven.

“ Is god Indra actually existing ? ” ask the Ṛgvedic poets. ‘ Who has ever seen him ? ’ ”²

Accordingly, in the *Ṛgveda* there is no exact idea about the creation of the world. Here Indra is said to be the probable creator ;³ there Viṣṇu is supposed to be the cause of the creation ;⁴ in a third passage Bṛhaspati is described as the god who made the world, just as a carpenter or a workman whosoever constructs any artwork.⁵ Perhaps, it is said, the world was generated from a father and mother, who may be heaven and earth.⁶ The fire working upon the water may have been like the womb whence all things movable and immovable have originated.⁷ One of the *ṛṣis* states that only god Savitar knows whence the sea sprang up, and that no human person may ever be acquainted with the origin of the gifts generously distributed by Savitar.⁸ Who will ever know what was the first thing created, heaven or earth, day or night ?⁹ “ Being ignorant, I am asking the

1 Oldenberg, *La Religion des Vedas*, pp. 4, 582 (Leipzig 1917); Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, p. 63 (Gottingen, 1915).

2 *Rg.* II, 12, 5; VIII, 100, 3.

3 *Rg.*, VI, 47, 3-4.

4 *Rg.*, I, 154, 1.

5 *Ibid.*, X, 72, 2.

6 *Ibid.*, VII, 53, 2; I, 59, 2; I, 85, 2, 4, 6.

7 *Rg.*, I, 115, 1; I. 161, 9; VI. 50, 7.

8 *Ibid.*, X, 149, 2; V, 48, 5.

9 *Ibid.*, I, 85, I.

poets who possess wisdom, about what I do not know myself : who is the one, who as uncreated, is giving support to these six spaces ? ” And the reply is that such is the Sun, the heavenly Father who becomes one with the earth Mother.¹

Consequently, the same doubts permeate the whole *Rgveda* about the origin of life. Who has ever seen that being who was born first, since the one without bones supports those who have bones ? Where is the vital ghost, the blood and the self of the earth ? Is there any wise man whom we may question on these points ?²

But, as said above, the *Rgveda* is full of the materialistic views of the early Indo-Aryans, which views are in clear opposition to the ascetic life that marks the highest status in the spiritual life of man. The Rgvedic Aryan's aspirations are purely materialistic. In their prayers they demanded from the gods, only : a beautiful and gentle wife,³ male children,⁴ gold,⁵ and kine.⁶ It is not strange after all that their wishes be so materialistic, for all their gods were personifications of the material forces of nature or of the natural phenomena that the world placed before their eyes every day. Hence some of their gods were heavenly or gods of the sky, like Sūrya, others atmospheric, like Indra and the Maruts, others, finally, were earthly like Agni and Soma.

It is true that in the *Maṇḍala* 10 of the *Rgveda* we read that the multiplicity of gods is an illusion and that there is only one god who is the Creator and Father of everything,⁷ who is called *Prajāpati*;⁸ yet this is an evident effect of a

1 *Rg.*, I, 164, 6-8.

2 *Ibid.*, I, 164, 4.

3 *Rg.* III, 53, 4-6.

4 *Ibid.*, X, 85, 45.

5 *Ibid.*, I, 18, 2; 123, 1; II, 11, 21, *et. passim.* Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 50, 51, (Berlin, 1879).

6 *Rg.*, VIII, 54, 11-12 *et passim.*

7 *Rg.* X, 72, 125.

8 *Ibid.*, X, 121.

totally foreign influence in the doctrines of the *Rgveda*, an influence which undoubtedly hails from the Dravidian people of the country, whose theological doctrine was monotheistic.¹ Even the famous expression, *ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti* (what is one is called by different names by the poets), which is found in *Maṇḍala* 1,² seems to be a later interpolation, as reflecting a theological development totally unknown in that early period. This foreign unitarian influence combined with the multiplicity of gods of the home doctrines was the cause of the final evolution in the theological thought of the *Rgveda*. Since all the forces and phenomena of nature were gods and god was only one, it was but natural concluding that everything was one god. This was the first enunciation of the doctrine of pantheism, the *magna carta* of which is contained in the renowned *Puruṣasūkta* of the *Maṇḍala* 10.³ This early Indian pantheism, born from a totally materialistic element of the multiplicity of nature gods cannot but be materialistic, as materialistic as the pantheism of Spinoza, and consequently in perfect opposition to the more spiritual so-called pantheism of the late Upaniṣadic period, the genesis of which we shall explain presently.

II

Sir Jadunath Sarkar briefly summarising the evolution of Indian philosophical thought during the long period of the Upaniṣads to explain the rise of Buddha and his monastic

1 Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, Part I, pp. 1-16.

2 *Rg.* I, 164, 46.

3 *Rg.*, X, 90, Cf. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda, älteste Literatur der Inder*, p. 235. (Leipzig, 1881); Grassmann, *Rigveda*, p. 486. (Berlin, 1876/7).

order says: "A high philosophy, quite distinct from the Vedic religion, was developed first in the hermitages and then at the courts of the Kṣatriya kings like Janaka, and it led in the course of time to the rise of a great Kṣatriya preacher. It was Gautama Buddha, the lion of the Śākya class, who rose in open protest against the power and ritual of the Brāhmins and introduced a new force into Indian life and thought".¹

It has generally been said that the new Upaniṣadic doctrines were the fruit of the reaction against Brahmanic ritual.² That is the reason why Sir Jadunath states that those doctrines were developed first in the hermitages and then in the Kṣatriya courts, for asceticism is in direct contrast with sacrifice. Yet actually asceticism is logically and chronologically later than the development of the new Upaniṣadic doctrines. Indeed the reaction against ritual was not the cause of the new ideas, but rather their effect.

What were these new ideas?

The new Upaniṣadic doctrines, totally unknown in the *R̥gveda*, may be divided into five different chapters:

1. The *Ātman*
2. The *Karman*
3. The transmigration of souls
4. The revelation of god to man
5. The practice of asceticism

Let us study them separately.

1 Sarkar, *India Through the Ages*, pp. 25-26 (Calcutta, 1928).

2 Eliade, *Yoga, Essai sur les origines de la Mystique Indienne*, p. 101 (Paris-Bucuresti, 1936).

III

The *ātman* is never mentioned in the *R̥gveda*: the first time that this word occurs is in the *Atharvaveda*,¹ which by all writers is acknowledged as posterior to the former. But this word is there pronounced quietly, almost with fear as a dangerous innovation, as a revolutionary thought. In fact, the *ātman* does not acquire, so to say, full rights of citizenship in Indian philosophy till the Upaniṣadic period, and then in the most interesting and thought provoking manner.

1. *The Ātman was unknown to the Brāhmaṇas.*

A number of stories narrated in different *Upaniṣads* leave no doubt about this point.

Once upon a time five Brāhmans wishing to learn the nature of the *ātman* went to a learned Brāhman, named Uddālaka Āruṇi and requested him to give them an explanation. But Uddālaka told them that there was nobody superior to King Aśvapati Kaikeya (of a territory situated in the North-western area) in the knowledge of these difficult matters. As a result of this conversation the six of them betook themselves to King Aśvapati Kaikeya, who first showed to them how inaccurate their knowledge was and then instructed them about the *ātman*.²

On another occasion a proud Brāhman scholar called Gārgya Bālāki undertakes to explain the nature of the *Brahman* to King Ajātaśatru of Kāśī, to whom he propounds some of his views. Ajātaśatru finds that all his views are defective, and then as a result explains the *ātman* to Gārgya, not without prefacing his instruction by observing that it is

1 *Atharvaveda*, X, 8, 44.

2 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V, 11-24.

the reverse of the ordinary rule for a Brāhman to call on a Kṣatriya in order to acquire knowledge.¹

Another learned Brāhman Nārada went once to Sanatkumāra, styled "the god of war", probably on account of his warlike activities and his successes on the battle-field, and plainly disclosed his feelings to him thus :

"I know, O worthy of veneration, the whole sacred and profane lore. I am acquainted with the *Brahma-vidyā* (the science of the Brahman). The *mantravid* (the Vedas) is not unknown to me; and yet, I am not happy because I do not know the *ātmavid* (the science of the *ātman*).” Consequently he requests Sanatkumāra to declare the *ātmavid* to him, for he had heard from others that whosoever knows it is freed from all pain. And 'the god of war' replies to him: "All that you have studied are only meaningless words."²

The learned Brāhman Uddālaka Āruṇi already mentioned asked once King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali to declare the doctrine of the *ātman* to him. The king replied to him as follows :

"May not you and your parents ever offend me as it is true that this doctrine was never known to any Brāhman from the remotest ages up to the present day. But I shall explain it to you. Who may indeed ever refuse anything to you who speak so wisely?"³

From these historical facts referred to in the *Upaniṣads* it is evident that the doctrine of the *ātman* was not known to the Brāhmins and that they learnt it from the Kṣatriyas. Later on they themselves explained the doctrine to others, but only when they had acquired it from the kings. This was not strange at all, for if anything is certain about the

1 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 4; *Kaus'itaki Upaniṣad*, IV,

2 *Chūndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, 1, 1-4

3 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, VI, 2, 8.

ātman it is its non-Vedic origin. It is stated that those who do not know the *ātman* are sheep of the Vedic gods, subjects and slaves to them. Consequently, the Vedic gods do not want that men would know the *ātman*, for it gives them independence and freedom.¹

2. Excellence of the *Ātman*

The excellence of the *ātman* may rightly be deduced from the fact that it is superior to the knowledge of the Brahman and of the Vedas, as is evident after considering the words of Nārada addressed to Sanatkumāra mentioned above. After knowing the Brahman and the Vedas, the Brāhman declares that he is not yet happy because he is not acquainted with the *ātman*. In point of fact Sanatkumāra openly declares to him that all his Vedic lore is mere name.² And Nārada finally confesses that by the knowledge of the *ātman* alone man may become superior to all the tribulations of life.³

This is also the view of another Brāhman named Yājñavalkya who after hearing the explanation of the *ātman* from king Janaka, does not hesitate to state that "a Brāhman who has known the *ātman* may take his resolutions and may not think any more in the many words (of the Veda) which are only good to tire our voice."⁴

The main reason of the excellence of the *ātman* seems to be that stated by king Ajātaśatru of Kāśi to Gārgya Bālāki, viz. that "everything proceeds from the *ātman* and that the *ātman* is *satyasya satyam*, the reality of realities."⁵

1 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 11.

2 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, 1, 3-4.

3 *Ibid.*, VII, I, 1-2.

4 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, V, 4, 21.

5 *Ibid.*, II, 1, 1; 1, 15, 20; *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, IV, 1.

That is the reason why it is said that he who venerates the *ātman* finds everything in the *ātman*.¹

3. *What is the Ātman*

(a) Impossibility to define it. Whenever one attempts to define the *ātman*, the first thing that may be suggested to him is that he should start by saying: *neti, neti*, 'no, no.' It is impossible to define it. Its name is '*satyasya satyam*.' Nobody may handle it, or abandon it, or catch it, or destroy it.²

(b) The *ātman* existed when nothing existed. In reality in the beginning the whole world was the *ātman* (for there was nothing but the *ātman*) "nor existed a single creature that twinkled."³

(c) The *ātman* is the creator of the world. "The *ātman* is the maker of everything for it indeed creates the universe which therefore belongs to him".⁴

(d) The *ātman* is immortal. When the *ātman* leaves the branch of a tree, this branch dies; if it leaves another branch this second branch also dies; but the *ātman* does not die. If the *ātman* were not immortal, we would be able to say that life dies, which is a logical impossibility.⁵

(e) The *ātman* is a spiritual being for it is never tired. The eye is tired, the ear is tired; so are, too, the other senses. Yet the *ātman* does not know fatigue.⁶

(f) The *ātman* is the absolute. King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali is said to have defeated the two learned Brāhmins Silaka and

1 *Ibid.*, I, 4, 15.

2 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 3, 6; III, 9, 26.

3 *Ibid.*, I, 4, 1; *Aitareya Upaniṣad*, I, 1.

4 *Ibid.*, IV, 4, 12, and 13.

5 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI, 11.

6 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 5, 21.

Caikitāyana in a philosophical discussion on the *udgītha*.¹ Now if we compare this passage with other passages in which discussions between kings and Brāhmins are narrated the word *udgītha* here seems to be equivalent to the word *ātman* used in other cases. This discussion was also, therefore, over the *ātman*. Now the word *udgītha* was the name of the absolute in vogue amongst the Sāmaveda schools.² Hence, we may conclude, the *ātman* is the absolute. In point of fact, when Sanatkumāra explains the *ātman* to Nārada he avers : " in this world we call greatness, to possess cows and horses, elephants and gold, lands and power. Yet I do not speak to you about this sort of greatness, in which everything depends on another thing ".³ Therefore, Sanatkumāra was speaking of a thing that did not depend on another, a being namely which was absolute. Such, therefore, was the *ātman*.

(g) The *ātman* is self-subsistent. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* it is stated that " in the beginning this world was *the-not-to-be* which was *the-to-be*." ⁴ This expression which at first sight seems contradictory is full of very high metaphysical meaning. It is said that this world in the beginning was *the-not-to-be*, i.e. that nothing existed in it and nothing therefore had the right to exist by itself. Yet there was a being which was already existing, a being who had the right to exist by himself and since such a being could never have acquired that right, he was existing for ever. Therefore, in the beginning when nothing existed nor had the right to exist, the whole world was only *the-to-be*, existing by himself for ever. That this self-subsisting being is precisely the *ātman*, is clear from the instructions given in order to obtain the possession of the *ātman*. In order to obtain the *ātman*

1 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 1, 8, 1-8; 9, 1-4.

2 Cf. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy in the Vedas and Upaniṣad*, p. 519 (Harvard, 1925).

3 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, 24, 2.

4 *Ibid.*, III, 19, 1.

neither words, nor thought nor sight help one at all. "The *ātman* belongs to him who with an extraordinary insight exclaims : ' He is ' ",¹ viz., He is by himself, that is the real existence, as explained above.²

(h) The *ātman* is in all the creatures. There was a materialistic school of thought in the Upaniṣadic period, probably an off-shoot of the materialism of the Vedas, the leader of which, the Brāhmaṇa Cārvāka, maintained that in the world four elements exist, i.e. earth, water, fire and air. Out of the combination of the four elements the spirit springs up, in the same way as the intoxicating power comes up out of the combination of fermented matters.³ Now it is rightly stated that the *ātman* is not an occasional product as the intoxicating power of Cārvāka; it is that God who is in the fire and in the water, in the herbs and in the trees and in the whole universe; it is a sempiternal reality that knows neither beginning nor end, that like the fire in the wood and the salt dissolved into the water permeates even the last tip of the nail of man, any object that has name or shape.⁴

(i) The *ātman* is different from the creatures. There is no doubt that the original idea of *ātman* conveys that of a being different from all the creatures of the universe. Otherwise it could not be self-subsistent. If he were identified with the creatures, he would perish with them, but "the *ātman* is indefectible; it is in everything and is not everything".⁵ The Upaniṣadic doctrine on this point is also quite

1 *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, II, 6, 13.

2 When Moses asked God, after the latter had sent him to Egypt to save his brethren : " If they should say to me : What is his name ? What shall I say to them ? " God replied to him : " You will tell them " I am who am. " *Exod.*, III, 13-14.

3 Mādhavācārya, *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, Cārvākdars'anam, 23-24.

4 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 7; II, 4, 12; *Chūndogyā Upaniṣad*, VI, 13.

5 *Ibid.*, III, 8, 7-11.

obvious, as regards man. "The *ātman* is not oneself, it is different from oneself. It is much higher than the individual".¹

(j) The *ātman* is God. After having seen how the *ātman* resides in all the creatures, though it is not identified with them, one understands the following passage as fully referring to the *ātman*: "The God who is in the fire, in the water, within the whole universe, in the herbs and in the trees... before Him we prostrate ourselves."² Yet it is said that it is not advisable to worship the *ātman* in this or other form, for it resides in the forms partially only (and such worship might become the worship of the form, instead of being the worship of the *ātman* that resides in it). Yet the veneration of the *ātman* is necessary.³ What has been said about the *ātman* up to now is quite enough to realize that it is a personal God different from the world, as Professor Formichi of the University of Rome pointedly remarks.⁴

4. *The Meaning of the word Ātman*

The word *ātman* has been sometimes explained, supposing it was a Sanskrit word,⁵ but these attempts were not considered successful. Nor was this surprising. *Ātman* is a word the meaning of which was unknown to *all* the Brāhmins as seen above, many amongst whom were undoubtedly learned in the sacred language. *A priori*, we may say therefore, that the etymological meaning of this word will not be found in Sanskrit, but in the language of those

1 *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*, II, 2.

2 *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, II, 17.

3 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 7.

4 Formichi, *Il Pensiero Religioso dell' India prima dal Buddha* pp. 250 and 259 (Bologna, 1925).

5 For instance from *an* = "to breathe" and *aṭ* = "to move"; so from *a* seen in *aham*, = "I" and *ta* = "this".

from whom the knowledge of the *ātman* was inherited. Now later on we shall prove that the idea of the *ātman* comes from the so-called Dravidian nations dwelling in India prior to the Aryan invasion. Hence we must look for the philological explanation and meaning of the word *ātman* in the Dravidian languages.

But, besides, the *Upaniṣads* themselves will give us a clue as to the real meaning of the word. Let us study two passages¹ only:

- (i) "Once king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali questioned the young Brāhman Śvetaketu, Uddālaka Āruṇi's son, about the destiny of man after death. The lad, who imagined to have been instructed by his learned father in all matters of importance was non-plussed at the unexpected questions, and did not know what to reply to them. Śvetaketu returned to his father's house with a very heavy heart. On meeting his father he disclosed to him how humiliated he was when a mere Kṣatriya, a *rājanyabandhu*, forced him to acknowledge his ignorance in matters religious. "But not even I would have been able to reply to such questions," candidly says Uddālaka Āruṇi to his mortified son. As a consequence of this interview, both father and son returned to the court of Pravāhaṇa who offered many honours and royal presents to the wise man. Yet the latter refused to accept them and only wanted to hear from his lips the doctrine regarding the destiny of man after death. The king first hesitated for a while, but finally agreed to his request and began his explanation by making this extraordinary statement: "It is indeed as you said, that in old days and before you, this doctrine has never reached the Brāhman's ears. And this is precisely the reason why the rule of the country has always been from old days in the hands of the Kṣatriyas."¹

1 *Chandogya Upaniṣad*, V, 3, 17. This episode is slightly changed in *Kausītaki Upaniṣad*, I, 1. Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, VI, 2, 1-9.

- (ii) Another Brāhman, named Naciketas, is also introduced calling on Yama, the god of death, and trying to elicit from him the secrets of the underworld. Yama is not willing to satisfy his wishes so easily and first of all he draws his attention to things apparently more attractive. He offers Naciketas long life, as long as he wants, wealth, children and grandchildren, cows, elephants, gold, horses and lands, great glory in the world, carnal pleasures with semi-divine women, great mistresses in music and singing. Everything was refused by Naciketas. "What is the use of these songs and these dances?", he exclaims. "Man cannot find happiness in riches. It is quite enough to contemplate death *vis a vis* once, in order that riches should lose all their attractiveness. It is enough to have investigated what is eternal once, in order not to feel invited any more by colourful feastings, love pleasures or any sort of enjoyment." ¹

These two episodes of Brāhman investigating the destiny of man after death seem parallel with those in which other Brāhman were making inquiries about the *ātman*. At once one strongly suspects that the destiny of man after death is to be placed on an equal footing with the *ātman*, or in other words that the destiny of man after death and the *ātman* are one and the same thing. This suspicion becomes a certainty when we see that this destiny of man after death is called by Naciketas "the eternal", which word evidently refers to the *ātman*, as the latter is immortal and imperishable, as seen above.

And, indeed, according to Upaniṣadic doctrines, "riches and the things of this world offuscate man's mind and destroy the intuition of the mystery of death".² Therefore, the detachment of the things of the world will lead man to

1 *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, I, 17, ff., 23-26.

2 *Ibid.*, I, 17

acquire this intuition of death mystery. But it is also said in the *Upaniṣads* that the knowledge of the *ātman* is acquired by this detachment.¹ Therefore the mystery of death and the *ātman* are one and the same thing.

Now this equation gives us a clue to the understanding of the etymological meaning of the word *ātman*, a word that has come to us as we have it through the Sanskrit texts of the *Upaniṣads*, though still keeping its old Dravidian morphology. In the old Dravidian language the word very likely was *atamāṇ*, a compound word, *atam* - *āṇ*. Now *atam* in ancient Tamil means "underworld",² and *āṇ* means "lord". *Atamāṇ*, therefore, means "the lord of the underworld". This word while passing into Sanskrit lost the second short *a*, and by a natural reaction lengthened the first *a*—thus becoming *ātman*.

5. Vedic Influence upon the *Ātman*

The idea of the *ātman* after passing from the possession of the Kṣatriya kings to the dominion of the Brāhmins, was soon influenced by the old Vedic ideas and in particular, by that of the *Brahman*. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, the *ātman* is identified with the *Brahman* for the first time.³ And the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* also openly states that "the *Ātman* is the *Brahman* and in it man will be submerged after his death".⁴

How early this identification was performed is not a matter of great importance. We have, as seen above in the

1 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III 5, 1.

2 Some think that the word *atam* is Sanskrit. Yet it seems quite indigenous in Tamil. It probably has the same root as the Sanskrit *adha*, though independently from each other, as happens in other words, for instance, *pu* and *puspa*.

3 *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 12, 9.

4 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III, 14, 3-4.

ātman an idea totally different from the *Brahman* though undoubtedly with some points of similarity. Even if the identification was done at a very early age, we shall have to acknowledge the independence of the *ātman* at an earlier period. Indian philosophy has not as yet thoroughly disentangled itself from the fetters of the *Brahman* in spite of the efforts of Śaṅkarācārya. Hence the period of the *ātman* in its pure form as found in the *Upaniṣads*, commented upon in the previous lines, must necessarily be prior to the identification period.

Once this identification is accepted there is no difference any more between the universe and the *ātman*, though it was so great before. The world is only an emanation of the *ātman*. Just as the herbs spring from the earth; and the hairs from the body of living man; and thousands of sparks jump from a bonfire and return to it, in the same way the various beings proceed from the indefectible *ātman* and return to it.¹

The *ātman*, therefore, becomes the material cause of the world. It will not be long before he will be called *Viśvakarmā*, the architect of everything that exists, just as the *Brahman* has been;² and thus the *ātman*, the absolute, independent, eternal and self-subsisting being, the personal god different from the universe, as spoken of by the Kṣatriya kings, becomes identified with the world, depending on it, entangled with all the miseries and limitations of all the creatures.

Yet—and this is a point of disagreement from the previous materialistic sense of the pantheistic *Brahman*—the *Ātman*, a spirit, God, is very often not considered as the universe itself, but only as the universal and individual soul of the creation and of all its creatures.

1 *Mundaka Upaniṣad*, I, 1, 7; II, 1, 1; *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, III, 2; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 1, 20.

2 *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 1, 1.

6. *Confusion between the pantheistic idea of God and the idea of a personal God.*

Owing to this identification of the *ātman* with the *Brahman* there is a considerable confusion about the idea of God in the Upaniṣadic period. The *Kena Upaniṣad* is totally devoted to the praise of the *Brahman*. Once only mention of the *ātman* is made¹ and then indeed it is said that the *ātman* strengthens the man. Yet, according to this *Upaniṣad* only the knowledge of the *Brahman* fully satisfies the Brāhman's conscience and makes him immortal. Contrarywise, the *Īśa Upaniṣad* does not mention the *Brahman* even once. It is written thoroughly to extoll the *ātman*. Yet the *Brahman* is not opposed in it. This is precisely what actually happens in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* which is openly on the war-path against all Brahmanic orthodoxy.

On account of this confusion the meaning of the *ātman* is often misunderstood, as happens for instance in a famous passage of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* where after the beautiful comparisons of the honey made by bees out of the nectar collected from different flowers; and the rivers coming from different directions and uniting all in the sea, Uddālaka Āruṇi says to his son "Sa ya eṣo animā, etad-ātmakam idam sarvaṁ, tat satyaṁ, sa ātmā. Tat tvam asi, Śvetaketu, iti."² "Such is the small thing. This dear *ātmā* (is) this all, that (is) the reality, that *ātman*. Thou art that, Śvetaketu." In this passage the *ātman* is said to be a small thing. In reality humble is the form that the *ātman* takes in the food, for instance.³ Moreover, it is said that "the *ātman* in the heart of man is smaller than a grain of rice or barley, or mustard, or millet, smaller indeed than a particle of millet grain."⁴ The *ātman*, moreover, is said to be this all, but

1 *Kena Upaniṣad*, II, 4.

2 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI, 9 and 10.

3 *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*, III, 2 ff.

4 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III, 14, 3-4

“ to be this all ” must be understood in the sense of the salt, originally different from the water, but which when dissolved is in the smallest drop of this element.¹ Such is the meaning intended by Uddālaka Āruṇi who gives practical lessons on philosophy to his son in both the passages. In point of fact it cannot but be that, for immediately afterwards he adds : *Tat satyam*. That is the reality, or as we saw above, “ The reality of realities.” For the whole universe, all the things of the world, are not real like the *ātman* ; as the *ātman* is self-subsisting, while all the rest only exist by him. Now the following three words are very often misunderstood by modern interpreters: *Tat tvam asi*. Thou art that. Thinking that the *ātman* is the same as the *Brahman* and seeing that immediately after these words, Śvetaketu is being addressed, they suppose that the subject of this phrase (*tvam*—“thou”) refers to Śvetaketu himself, and the complement is the *ātman*, thus the meaning being : “ Thou, Śvetaketu, art the *ātman*.” But this cannot be the meaning of the phrase, for the *ātman* is indefectible, eternal and absolute, qualities that in no way can be applied to Śvetaketu. Certainly all these words are addressed to Śvetaketu by his father, but the subject of this phrase does not refer to Śvetaketu at all. It is, as if it were, a magic ascetical formula, where the whole doctrine of the *ātman* is summarized. “ Thou,” the subject, is God, as the pure absolute subject ; the predicate “ that ” is the absolute object. *Tat tvam asi* means that the absolute subject is the absolute object.² This preposition is only true referring to God, who is the perfect form, because He is self-subsisting. He is knowledge itself and the subject of His knowledge.³

This small sentence so many times repeated in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* may be compared with another one found in

1 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 13.

2 Cf. Johannis, *To Christ through the Vedānta, The Light of the East*, No. 5 (1923), p. 3.

3 St. Thomas Aquinas, *Questiones Disputabiles, De Veritate* Q. 2, a 2,

the *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad*: “*Etad-vai tat*” (this is that). This is an exclamation which is considered ineffable, a supreme joy; “Shall I ever understand it, either immediately or by reflection? No, here neither the sun, nor the moon nor the stars ever shine; the atmospheric rays do not shine either, nor even the earthly fire. The whole world shines on its back to that Being who only shines. The whole world shines by His shining, *this is that*.”¹

This famous *Chāndogya* sentence enclosing such a high theological significance became obscure ever since the identification of the *ātman* with the *Brahman* was spread amongst the intellectual people of India, and is now commonly interpreted in the Brahmanic and illogical pantheistic way. Already the great Indian philosopher Śaṅkarācārya was obliged to fight against such confusion of ideas while explaining the nature of God of whose self-subsistence he was the unflagging champion, and the way how he disentangled the nature of the *ātman* out of the web-threads of the *Brahman* is most ingenious.

Śaṅkarācārya could not deny that there are clear statements in favour of pantheism in the *Vedānta*. But at the same time there are undeniable proofs of the self-subsistence of God. Those are reflected by the idea of the *Brahman*; these are inspired by the doctrine of the *ātman*. Śaṅkara, whose duty was not the duty of the historian—to investigate the origin of both views as we presently do—was only concerned with the logical explanation of this apparent contradiction. He treats all those texts that speak of the soul of the universe of a dependent god, as stepping stones, as pedagogic means, as *anuvādas*; in a work they are helps to meditation, but they are not *the* doctrine. The doctrine is that god is independent, absolute, self-subsistent. According to Śaṅkara the pedagogic system of the *Vedānta* may be compared with

1 *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad*, V, 12, 14-15.

the system used by a man who wishes to show a very small star Arundhati to a friend. Since it is difficult to see the star without a comparison point, he first shows to him a neighbouring larger star. "Do you see that?" he asks him. "Yes, I do." "Yet that is not the star I want to show to you. Not far from it you will see another smaller star. Do you?" "Yes, I see it alright." "Not even that is the object of our search" and thus step by step finally leads him to discover Arundhati. In the same way the Upaniṣadic authors disclose God first as the Spirit of the world, the most obvious and unscientific conception of God, then as an individual soul, an easy step once the first idea is properly understood, and finally the extraordinary revelation comes as the *anuvāda* of all that is said before, that God ensouls nothing and is related to nothing. He is independent.¹

IV

Another innovation of extraordinary importance in Indian philosophy is that of the *karman*. The idea of the *karman* is the natural product of the meditation on the mystery of man after death.

A sincere Brāhman scholar called Arthabhāga proposes this question to his friend Yājñavalkya: "O, Yājñavalkya, when man dies and his word returns to the fire, and his breath to the winds, and his eyes to the sun, and his understanding to the will of the moon, and his ears to the cardinal points, and his body to the earth, and the *ātman* to the space, and his hairs to the herbs, and his hair to the trees and his blood and semen to the water, what then remains of man?" And

1 S'aṅkarācārya, *Chāndogyaopaniṣadbhāṣya*, VI, 9 and 10

Yājñavalkya enthusiastically but in whispers replies : " O Arthabhāga, my dear, shake hands. Only both of us should understand this, and we must not speak of this here, in this assembly." And then the two friends going out confidentially spoke and the subject of their talk was the *karman* and what they extolled was the *karman*. "And indeed man is reborn pure by pure deeds and is reborn sad (evil) by sad (evil) deeds."¹

In these last words the doctrine of the *karman* is briefly enunciated : the fruit of the good or evil deeds of man will be found after death in the other world. The idea of *karman* springs from the idea of the *ātman*, but this new idea could not be spoken of openly in an assembly of sages. It is a heresy for the Brahmanic world in general. Only those who are initiated may hear it and understand it properly.

A wonderful echo of this new Indian doctrine is unexpectedly coming from far off Greece. The Greek philosopher Apollonius once came across two learned men from India. Supposing that their wisdom was not very high, he thought that they would be nonplussed when he proposed the following question to them : " Do you know yourselves ? " The two Hindus replied : " If we know everything it is because first we know ourselves. We would never have succeeded in acquiring wisdom, had we not first acquired this self knowledge. Then Apollonius, astonished at their reply, inquired furthermore : " What do you think you are ? " " We are gods ", they replied. And he said : " Why ? " " For we are good men " was the final answer.² They evidently spoke of mystical union with God due to their good deeds, not of essential union with the divinity which would have been absurd. Their union with God depended on their good deeds ; and on their knowledge of God, according to that Upaniṣadic principle :

1 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 17.

2 Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, III, 18.

*Yo ha vai tat paramam Brahma veda Brahmaiva bhavati.*¹

“Whosoever sincerely knows the supreme *Brahman*, he himself becomes the *Brahman*.”

V

The doctrine of the transmigration of souls is the fruit of the doctrine of the *karman*. The existence of hell, where the wicked are punished after death is totally unknown to early Indian philosophic-religious thought. The wicked cannot have the same destiny as those whose early deeds were good. Hence a period of re-birth was devised during which the soul would get purified of its wickedness.

The transmigration of souls is not recorded in Vedic literature.² The first reference to it is found very late in Baudhāyana.

That the source of this new doctrine is the same as that of the *ātman* and of the *karman* is evident from the following episode :

Once upon a time, king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali proposed the following questions among others to young Śvetaketu :

1. After death, where do the creatures go?
2. How do they return to this earth?
3. What are the turns of the two paths — one of gods and the other of the manus (souls of the dead)?
4. How is that the world on the other side is never filled up?³

1 *Mundaka Upaniṣad*, III, 2, 9,

2 Keith, *op. cit.*, 415.

3 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V, 3-10. Cf. *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, VI, 2, 1-16.

The same king who was learned in the doctrine of the *ātman* is now discussing the new doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

The result of his teaching is that after death all souls proceed to the moon, who examines or judges them. Those who prove to be good, are introduced to the *Brahman*. The others, whose deeds were not satisfactory, are sent to the earth once more for re-birth and transmigration.¹

Transmigration is therefore a punishment and the cause of so much misery and fear. One person will surely be exempted from transmigration. "Whosoever knows the *ātman*, will not be reborn at all."² By what means will this knowledge be acquired?

VI

Whosoever, having looked for it, finally acquired the true notion of the *ātman*, will find in it the object of all his aspirations.³ This will be the first step to know the *ātman* itself, God. But before reaching Him one must pray God incessantly: "From the Unreal lead me to the Real; from Darkness to Light; from Death to Immortality."⁴ Because the present knowledge of God does not depend on oneself only. It primarily is the work of God. "The *ātman* communicates his knowledge to those only whom He himself selects."⁵ "This short sentence, the importance of which has not been sufficiently recognized," says Prof. Friedrich

1 *Kaus'itaki Upaniṣad*, I, 2.

2 *S'vetās'vatara Upaniṣad*, III, 7.

3 *Kāthopaniṣad*, II, 28.

4 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 3, 28.

5 *Mundaka Upaniṣad*, III, 2, 2; *Kāthopaniṣad*, I, 2, 22.

Heiler, "is the profoundest aphorism of the Veda. The finding of God, the contemplation and possession of God are not the works of man; they are not the product of the industry and capacity of man; they are not his pride and his glory. It is the work of God, the revelation of God, the grace of God."¹

Thus, for instance, in the case of Arjuna, he put only a humble prayer on his part: "If Lord, thou thinkest that I am able to look upon it, then do thou, Lord of power, reveal to me thy Self immutable", and then Kṛṣṇa tells him: "Behold my forms, O son of Prthā, in their hundreds and their thousands, manifold, divine, various in colour and in shape. Behold Sun-spirits, Radiant Lords, Lords of Destruction, Horsemen Twain and spirits of the Storm; behold, O Bhārata, many marvels never seen before. Here concentrated in my body, behold now, O Guḍākeśa the whole universe moving and unmoving, and all else thou dost desire to see. But since thou canst not see me with this thine own eye, I give thee an eye divine; behold my power as Lord."²

Greek philosophers had a positive aim in their studies to know man and its faculties. Indian philosophy from this very early age, preferred to exercise these faculties in the acquisition of the knowledge of God. Greece was materialistic; India was rather mystic. These two tendencies and its respective consequences were strikingly shown once when the great philosopher Socrates in Athens was introduced to an Indian who was travelling through Greece. The Indian asked him what was the subject of his study. Socrates answered that his investigations were about human life. The Indian surprisingly had a good laugh when hearing

1 Heiler, "Die Mystik in den Upanishaden" in *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Buddhismus und verwandter Gebiete*, XIV p. 30.

2 *Bhagavadgītā*, XI, 4-8; Trans. by Hill, pp. 202-3.

Socrates' reply, and added : "Difficult is indeed the knowledge of things human, when divine things are ignored."¹

VII

In order to acquire this knowledge and mystical possession of God, the practice of asceticism naturally developed out of the principle of *karma* and in order to get freedom from re-birth.

Several are the steps to be taken in the path of asceticism, steps which are equivalent to as many mental stages of evolution in the way to God. Seven are these main steps :

(a) *Vanity of the World*: In wealth men sink as in marshy lands (*majjanti*), for they produce darkness (*vittamoha*) in the intellect and such darkness destroys all intuition in the mystery of death. Whosoever indeed is engrossed in riches, believes that the only existing world is that he is actually enjoying, and this vain thought causes him to fall under the power of death. Immorality belongs to those only who know how to disentangle themselves from the vanity of this world.² An ancient king called Bṛhadratha gives us a striking example of this detachment from the world and its vanities. After having renounced his throne in favour of his son, he retires to the forest to perform *tapas*. After a long period the wise Sākāyanya, well instructed in

1 Anecdote narrated by Aristoxenes of Taranto, Socrates' contemporary, and found in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Preparatio Evangelii*, XI, 3, 38. The reply of this Indian is in perfect agreement with what we read in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. I, 4, 7 ; "The universe is made known through the *ātman*."

2 *Kāṭhaka Brāhmaṇa*, I, p. 17 ff.

the doctrine of the *ātman*, pays a visit to him and offers him a gift. Yet, Bṛhadratha, convinced as he is of the fugacity of his life and of the vanity of everything, does not know what to do with such perishable material gifts. In the world he felt to be like a frog that remains enclosed in the crevice of a well and has thirst of a revelation of spiritual doctrine that gives imperishable pleasure.¹

(b) *The knowledge of the ātman.* When some Brāhmins come to know what is the *ātman*, they renounce the world and become mendicant *bhikṣus*.² The knowledge of the *ātman* is totally opposite to the covetousness of riches and to the wish of begetting sons of the *Ṛgveda*. "The *Ātman* is dearer than a son, dearer than riches, dearer than anything in this world. If one says that he or she loves another person independently from the *ātman* and they tell him or her : "Thou wilt lose this beloved," one may be certain that it will happen so. All good things therefore should be venerated not independently from the *ātman*, but as the *ātman*; and then these good things will never be lost."³ For, "Whosoever has known the *ātman*, becomes an ascetic, and towards the *ātman* proceed as in a pilgrimage all the pilgrims in search for their motherland. That was the reason why the wise men of old did not wish to have children, as they said to themselves : "what need of children have we for whom the whole world is the *ātman* ?"⁴

The wise Brāhman Yājñavalkya, mentioned so many times, after knowing the *ātman*, decides to renounce the world and retreat to the forest. Accordingly he calls his two wives to distribute his fortune among them. One of them, named Maitreyī, was a very learned lady who could discuss with the

1 *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, I, 1, 2-4.

2 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III, 5, 1 ; IV, 4, 22.

3 *Ibid.*, 1, 4, 8.

4 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V, 4, 22.

Brāhman with proficiency. After receiving part of her husband's fortune she questions him : " Shall I become immortal with these gifts you gave me ? " And Yājñavalkya replied : " Hope of immortality cannot be obtained by wealth." " If this is so," Maitreyi adds : " even if you gave me the whole earth covered with gold, would that be of any service to me ? Rather give me what may make me immortal." The beloved husband when listening to such an expected outburst of wisdom exclaims : " Dear are you to me, and dear things come from your lips," and then he on the eve of his going to the forest reveals to her the doctrine of the *ātman*.¹

(c) *Chastity*. " Indeed, as soon as the Brāhmins know what is the *ātman* they strip themselves of all wishes of having sons and wealth and of all worldly desires, and embrace the life of mendicant monks. For love of sons means love of riches, and love of riches means love of the world."² This virtue of chastity is often contrasted with matrimony and said to be the supreme means to arrive at the world of the *Brahman* (*ātman*).³

(d) *Humility*. Before attaining the full knowledge of the *ātman* the practice of humility is recommended as necessary. "The Brāhman stripping himself of all his previous knowledge, should become like a little child."⁴

(e) *Meditation*. The supreme rule of the ascetic is *ātmānaṁ ātmanā paśya*.⁵ " Look at the soul through the soul," by which words meditation is imposed upon the *bhikṣu*. Through the eye of the soul, *i.e.* through your intellect, meditate upon the ideas that are in your intellect, stored in

1 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 4, 1 ff; IV, 5, 1 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, III, 5, 1.

3 *Pras'na Upaniṣad*, I, 15.

4 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, 5, 2.

5 *Maitri Upaniṣad*, VI, 14, 20 ; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 4, 23.

the recesses of your memory. "Small men are quarrelsome, unfaithful and speak ill of others. Superior men receive the gift of meditation. Hence venerate meditation."¹

(f) *Asceticism proper*. The covetousness for *dakṣiṇā* (gift) of the R̥gvedic Brāhmins is traditional in the history of Indian religions. Now in the Upaniṣadic period it is said that the true *dakṣiṇā* consists in *tapas* (penance), *dānam* (charity), *āryavaṃ* (rectitude), *ahimsā* (respect to living beings) and *satyavacanam* (veracity).² One could not expect a greater change as regards the attitude of the human soul towards the material things of the world. This current of true asceticism appears already in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and its necessity for any important spiritual work is much emphasized that even Prajāpati is supposed to have practised some *tapas* before he created the world.³

The noble effects that the practice of asceticism produces in the soul are often emphasized by contrast with the sluggishness caused by the performance of sacrifices and the offering of gifts to gods and Brāhmins. Thinking that gifts and rites are the best work, these blind people ignore a greater good. Hoping that they will receive in heaven the fruit of their good deeds they fly and gyrate incessantly through this world and even through the lower world. But those who practice penance and live a life of faith in the forests, serene and enlightened, live out of charity and enter after purification, through the fate of the sun, where is the immortal Being of the indefectible soul.⁴

(g) *Yoga*. This is the supreme aspiration of the *bhikṣu* in this world. "We call the supreme aim that in which the

1 *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII. 6, 1.

2 *Ibid.*, III, 17, 4.

3 Jacobi, *Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, p. 29 (Bonn-Leipzig, 1923).

4 *Mundaka Upaniṣad*, I, 2, 10, 11.

organs of the soul, the five senses, remain quiet and the intellect becomes unmovable. This quiet of the senses which is finally obtained is denominated *yoga*, and while it lasts, naturally presupposes a continuous strain, for *yoga* is creation (of a new world) and destruction (of the world).''¹

VIII

The development of the philosophical ideas leading to the practice of asceticism, during the Upaniṣadic period, was the cause of the anti-ritualistic spirit which one finds through these philosophical works ; not precisely the effect of it. This logical sequence of ideas has, I hope, been sufficiently disclosed in the preceding pages. What was therefore the origin of these new philosophical views ?

The German Sanskrit scholar Garbe openly declares that India owes its philosophical knowledge not to the Brāhmins but to the warriors, to the princes and to the nobles and to the wisdom of the kings.² Hertel also accepts the doctrine of the Kṣatriya origin of the *Upaniṣads*.³ The *Bhagavadgītā* is a new current of Kṣatriya wisdom entering the great sea of Indian philosophy.

Yet, Prof. Bariedale Keith cannot fully accept this view and explains the introduction of the Kṣatriya kings in the Upaniṣadic texts in a very ingenious way. It is well known, says he, that in the Ṛgvedic times the priest performing the sacrifice expected always some *dakṣiṇā* from the king. When

1 *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad*, VI, 10-12.

2 Garbe, *Beiträge zur Indischen Kulturgeschichte*, pp. 3 ff. (Berlin, 1903). Cf. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, pp. 227-9 (Calcutta, 1927).

3 Hertel, *I.F.*, XLI, p. 188.

the philosophical ideas which were derogatory to the sacrifices were spread, the Brāhmans could not expect *dakṣiṇā* any longer from the kings. Hence they had to look for it in another way. Their cunning placed the new philosophical views in the mouth of their kings in order to flatter and please them.¹ Therefore according to Keith all those kings were really historical persons, but the episodes narrated in connection with their learning are not historical. They were simply faked by the Brāhmans while proposing this new theory. Prof. Keith has not realized that the authors of the *Upaniṣads* themselves after knowing the *ātman* were not coveting money anymore, and even renounced the world and all its wealth to follow the ascetic ideals of poverty and freedom.

Therefore, no doubt can be maintained about the historicity of the episodes narrated in the *Upaniṣads*, and therefore about the Kṣatriya authorship of the new philosophical ideas. But who were these Kṣatriya kings, the authors of this new philosophical system ?

IX

Many have not entertained any doubts about the racial origin of these rulers. They were Āryans as much as the Brāhmans themselves. Yet the creation of this new school of philosophy, totally different from the old one, and without any co-operation of the Brāhmanic elements, in spite of the suggestion that both were belonging to the same race and so intimately connected seems totally inexplicable.

1 Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 494-497.

Accordingly it has been suggested that the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* is essentially Dravidian rather than Āryan and plausible grounds can be adduced for this view.¹ In point of fact, some authors have realized this superiority of Dravidian culture, by examining the sources of Indian philosophy.²

Indeed, the study of the doctrine of the traditional *āśramas* or stages of life will disclose to us what is the real source of Indian asceticism, precisely the last and supreme outcome of these new philosophical ideas. The first *āśrama*, that of the *Brahmacārin*, is that of the *śiṣya* living under the *guru*; the second, that of the *gṛhastha* or householder, is the *āśrama* of the Brāhmaṇa devoted to his priestly work and to the procreation of children; the third and fourth are *āśramas* of asceticism: the third that of *vānaprastha* of imperfect asceticism, when the ascetic lives a retired life from the world, but without abandoning his wife; while the fourth, that of the *yati*, of perfect ascetic mendicant life in the forest, in complete detachment of the world, wife, children and other vain things.³ Now this is precisely the asceticism we have seen recommended in the *Upaniṣads*, not the imperfect asceticism of the third *āśrama*. Now this third *āśrama* is evidently of Āryan origin, for then the *vānaprastha* is still continuing the performance of Vedic sacrifices; while *yati* in the fourth *āśrama* does not perform Vedic sacrifices. Now the asceticism practiced in the *Upaniṣads* is precisely this sort of asceticism, which does not know of Vedic sacrifices. Hence it is not Āryan and therefore we may affirm that the true asceticism of India is of Dravidian origin.

These two different sources of origin of these two ascetical *āśramas* are also pretty clearly detected while considering the different appreciation of the four *āśramas* shown by the

1 Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

2 G. W. Brown, *Studies in Honour of Bloomfield*, pp 75 ff.

3 *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, IV, 3; *S'ukraniti*, IV, 4, 1-5.

authors of old. Some are inclined to think that the most excellent of these *āśramas* is the second, when religious life (sacrifice) is united with the natural life of man (procreation of children).¹ Others are of opinion that the most perfect of all is the fourth, when one has abandoned the world and devotes all his life to the improvement of one's spiritual side.² These so totally different estimations reflect the different inclinations of the two races: the Āryan, always materialistic, the Dravidian showing always its mystic tendency.

King Pravāhaṇa Jaivali in a discussion about the destiny of man after death with the Brāhman Uddālaka Āruṇi and his son Śvetaketu, discussion which has been referred to above, openly says that because the Brāhmins did not know this doctrine, power has always been since old times in the hands of Kṣatriyas. What is the meaning of the expression "since old times" is not very clear from this passage. But another passage seems to throw some light on it. The *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* tells us that "the wise men of old (*pūreve vidvāṁsah*) never performed the *agnihotra*".³ Now the *agnihotra* is a Ṛgvedic sacrifice daily performed by the Brāhmins before sunrise. Therefore, "The wise men of old" who never performed this sacrifice evidently belong to an age prior to the Ṛgvedic period. They are the old Dravidian learned people who never performed the *agnihotra*, because they did not know even its name. This discloses to us that those kings of old in whose hands power always remained because they were acquainted with the doctrine of the *ātman* must have also been the ancient Dravidian kings of the land.

1 *Gautama*, 8, 2-3; *Vas'istha*, VIII, 14.

2 *Baudhāyana*, II, 10, 17, 7-9.

3 *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, II, 5.

X

The decipherment of the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions help us to confirm this view, since all these new Upaniṣadic doctrines have been unexpectedly found in those inscriptions:

(a) The self-subsistence of God is evident from the name of God, *Iruvan*, "The One who exists".¹

(b) The doctrine of *karma* is implicitly exposed in the inscription that says: *Van ter or mīnkaṇ vel*, "May the one who has fish eyes when dying be happy".² To have fish eyes means to have the eyes of God, and to work always with the knowledge of God. Elsewhere I have explained what high perfection this fish-eye possession pre-supposes. And apparently only those who have fish eyes may be happy after death.

(c) Dying is equivalent to "reaching the sky," *van ter*.³ This is an idea similar to that of the Upaniṣads, according to which the soul after death goes to the moon, and if the judgment is favourable, it furthermore proceeds to the sun.

(d) The doctrine of re-birth is clearly enunciated in this inscription: *ēl ka āl eṭ uḍa adu*: "These are the eight dresses (bodies) of a man who has died seven times."⁴

(e) That life of asceticism was practised in the pre-Aryan proto-Indian period is evident from the fact that one of the inscriptions mentions "the learned Mīnas who dwell in the caves."⁵ Cave dwelling was not ordinary in those days, when beautifully built brick houses were common. Learned Mīnas dwelling in caves could not but be ascetics.

1 Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People According to the Inscriptions*, op. cit., V, p. 3.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

5 Marshall, *Mohenjo—Daro and the Indus Civilization*, III, No. 21.

(f) Nothing has appeared up to the present in the inscriptions about God's revelation to men. Yet we have two stanzas of the great Śaiva Tamil poet Tirunavukkarasu Svāmi where the revelation of Śiva is mentioned. Addressing Śiva as worshipped in his famous shrine of Athihai Vīraṭṭānam in South Arcot District, the poet says :

“Viṣṇu, Spouse of Lakṣmī and four-ways
facing Brahma
Searched the heights and depths, but
thy feet could never see
Yet, O only Lord who in Athihai
dost dwell
Formless, in thy grace, grant the
sight of them to me.”¹

The second stanza is even more strikingly revealing an inspiration breezed by the same Upaniṣadic spirit :

“I sought Him and I found
Brahma sought in vain on high
Viṣṇu delved vainly underground
Him in my soul found I.”²

It is interesting to notice the contrast that is being proposed between Śiva, the old god of the Dravidians on one side, and Viṣṇu and Brahma on the other. The latter do not reveal themselves, the former is the only one who reveals himself. Very likely the image called *lingoḍbhavamūrti* found in all the Śaivite temples of South India is only a plastic representation of this essential difference between the god of the Dravidians and the Aryan deities.³

1 Kingsbury-Phillips, *Hymns of the Tamil Śaivite Saints*, p. 39 (Calcutta, 1921).

2 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

3 In the *lingoḍbhavamūrti* Śiva reveals himself in the centre of a colossal *linga* to the very gods Brahma and Viṣṇu in the shape of a swan and a boar. The original eight avatārs of Viṣṇu are indeed as many revelations of this god. Yet, they are only an imitation of the eight forms of Śiva who is called the *aṣṭamūrti*. About the revelation of Kṛṣṇa referred to above, see below, XI.

At the end of this study we may now state without hesitation that the priests of the new invading race, the Brāhmins, realizing the deep knowledge of the proto-Indians and their high but abtruse doctrines, finally succeeded in breaking conventional pride and went to the main representatives of the so-called Dravidian race, the descendants of the kings of old—who in the pre-Āryan period were also the priests,—and were instructed by them in these doctrines which are precisely the foundation stones of Indian philosophy. A similar occurrence took place in Greece. When the *Helleni*, the Āryan invaders, became acquainted with the knowledge and wisdom of the Minoans, the Mycenæans and the Minians—another branch of the same Hamito-Mediterranean family, called Dravidians in India—sent their children to the learned people of this race to be educated by them. There is a mythological figure in Greece, the Centaur Cheiron, to whom the little children of the Greeks were brought for their education. The Centaurs were of pre-Hellenic origin and this in particular seems to be a personification of the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece who taught the new-comers the elements of philosophy and religion.¹

XI

Once the doctrine of *karman* is admitted in Indian philosophy and the erroneous consequence of the transmigration of souls is accepted as the only means to punish the evil deed of man, the two systems of *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga* may finally spring up founded upon solid basis. The opposition to

1 Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 383-4 (Cambridge, 1908).

Ṛgvedic doctrines proves the Kṣatriya and Dravidian origin of these systems,¹ from which Buddhism will appear as a fruit appears amongst the leaves of a tree. "The basic doctrine of Buddhism, as all scholars now admit", says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "sprang from the pre-existing Hindu philosophy of the *Sāṅkhya* and the later *Upaniṣada*—belief, namely that human life is a misery which is multiplied by the same soul passing through a cycle of rebirths and cessation of re-birth as the means of extinguishing that misery. Such cessation comes from moral self-control and the repression of all desires. The eightfold path enjoined by Buddha for this purpose is only a code of general ethics, and not the special creed of a revealed and distinctive faith".²

Kern had already admitted long ago that both systems of *Sāṅkhya* and Buddhist philosophy "derive" from a common remote source.³ While making this statement the learned scholar seems to have realised that there was an earlier common source than the *Upaniṣads*. He was quite right. The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions have revealed this source which we now may call "the ancient proto-Indian or Dravidian lore".

XII

The study of the mystic teachings of the Haridāśas of Kārṇāṭaka undertaken by my *śiṣya*, Mr. A. P. Karmarkar, M. A. LL. B., and my friend Mr. N. B. Kalamdani, Retd. Engineer, Dharwar, discloses many connections of the

1 Garbe, *Sāṅkhya-Philosophie*, p. 13 (Leipzig, 1917).

2 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

3 Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 47 (Strasbourg, 1896).

Kannaḍa Bhakti writers with the old Upaniṣadic principles. Bhakti is another off-shoot of the Dravidian tree of asceticism. Though the Bhakti writers of Karnāṭaka were Vaiṣṇavas, they are directly influenced by the Dravidian Śaiva doctrines.

Kṛṣṇa, who seems to have been the god of the *Ābhīras*¹ (an ancient Dravidian tribe, now known as *Ahirs*, cowherds) was at a very late time identified with Viṣṇu by the Vaiṣṇavas² in the same way as the Āṇ-Śiva of the Mohenjo Daro period was afterwards identified with the Ṛgvedic Rudra. The Śaivite connections of the Kannaḍa Bhaktas are clear from the fact that though they worship Kṛṣṇa, according to the enjoinders of Madhva, they also worship Śiva.³

Moreover, it is an undeniable fact that there exists some very ancient relationship between the god Pāṇḍuraṅga Viṭṭhala of Paṇḍharpur, the object of devotion of the Hari-dāsas, and the Dravidian worship of the *liṅga*. At Paṇḍharpur there is a temple dedicated to the *liṅga* on the banks of the Bhīmā river, and many images of Viṭṭhala are shown either holding a *liṅga* in one of his hands or with a *liṅga* on the top of his *makuṭa*.⁴ Perhaps owing to all these links between this Kannaḍa religious sect and the old Dravidian religion and philosophy, the authors of this monograph have boldly stated that *bhakti* is pre-Vedic (pp. 3-4) with which statement the author of these lines fully agrees.

Indeed the statements of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭaka run parallel with the Upaniṣadic doctrines which have been

1 Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 37-38 (Strasbourg, 1913).

2 Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 86 (Oxford, 1920); Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 13 (Oxford, 1928).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 236.

4 Such images precisely are named Pāṇḍuraṅga. There are two such images in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

studied in the preceding pages. First of all, as regards God, they profess that god is independent from the world (117), different from man (11), and far superior to him (17-18). He is the efficient cause of the Universe (104) and everything moves at his own initiation (77). He is dwelling in all beings (46, 102) and is, as if it were, actually working in all of them (59). His universal activity is beautifully compared with the playing of the flute of Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa (66). Everything is found in God (77, 97, 115). Hence his servants must not entertain any fear in their hearts (47). The utterance of his divine name (Hari, Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Viṭṭhala etc.) is of a marvellous effect in the spiritual life of man (19-21, 36, 37, 47, 48, 56, 63, 79, 92, 95, 121).

In connection with man, the law of *karman* is clearly enunciated (60). Consequently rebirths are spoken of as means of purification (45, 64, 89).

As to the relations between man and god, the Haridāśas fervently pray for god's kindness, protection and grace (29, 37, 43, 44, 54, 55, 73, 76, 77, 112, 113); and hope to obtain salvation from him (59). God is supposed to be the supreme preceptor (64) and the only one who bestows the higher bliss (46), which is his own vision (79, 90, 96). Man becomes intoxicated with the riches of God's wealth (75) and God becomes the final solace in the last moments of man's life (95).

This knowledge of God causes man to realize the vanity of the world in its *samsāra* (61, 62, 80, 107) and the great miseries and troubles of this life (29, 52, 71, 94, 101). This becomes still clearer when considering that death is approaching and awaiting man (21, 29, 43). Consequently, in order to be free, self-surrender is necessary (120). Man should first abandon all sins (21, 46), then embrace poverty (98). At the clear invitation of God (91), he separates himself from other men (73, 74, 76) and even forsakes his wife, children, brother and all his family (33, 124, 125), everybody

excepting God (76), for the sound of the flute of Kṛṣṇa has made him forget all about his abode (38). In fact when meditation has taken shelter in one's own heart what else is required? (57, 83, 102, 103). Meditation is indeed the cause of liberation from all the worldly fetters (108, 109). Then the ascetic, by not jumping here and there like a monkey (63) obtains the restful gift of *yoga* (66, 111, 125), when no troubles of any kind would make him trouble (22, 23).

The authors of this booklet should be warmly congratulated on their work. All lovers of Ancient Indian Culture in general and of Karnāṭaka in particular will be grateful to them for having spread the knowledge of the spiritual treasures that are hidden away in the writings of the Haridāśas of Karnāṭaka.

Indian Historical Research Institute,
Bombay, 23rd August, 1939.

H. Heras, S.J.

MYSTIC TEACHINGS OF THE HARIDĀSAS

1. Introductory.

1. Ever since earliest times, Karnāṭak has contributed to world-culture from various points of view. The **Pre-Aryan civilization.** late discoveries in the Indus Valley throw a flood of light on the earlier beginnings of the glorious past of Karnāṭak even long before the Āryans stepped into India. Rev. H. Heras, S.J., M.A., has proved beyond doubt, that the province of the Kaṇanirs, or the modern Karnāṭak, also formed a part of the Dravidian country.¹ He has also consequently tried to trace the religious and the social conditions of India obtaining in those times.² We get sufficient information regarding the United life of the Divine Triad Āṇ, Anil, and Amma, who happen to be the proto-types of the later Śiva, Gaṇapati, and Pārvatī. The worship of the Sun, Liṅga and other minor deities was also in vogue then. In our opinion the Āryans (along with their system of fire-worship) entered into India more as a race of conquerors rather than a race of propounders of any new religious principles amongst the people of India. Of course, it is possible that a fusion of the ideas of these two races must have been taking place all along. After they settled themselves down here, they came into a closer contact with the 'Proto-Indians', as Father Heras has rightly called them. And it is also equally true, that in course of time, they adapted themselves to the newer circumstances and made the religion

1 Karnāṭak Historical Review, Vol. IV Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 1-5.

2 H. Heras, S.J. : The Religion of the Mohenjo-Daro People—Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 1-20.

of the country as a part of their own. But they seem to have taken a very long time to do this. This can be seen from the fact that hardly do we find any mention made regarding Śiva and other Dravidian deities in earlier works. It is only in the Purāṇic times, that the idea of the Divine Trinity *e.g.* Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, seems to have fully come into existence. In fact the process of adaptation and assimilation was so complete in the Purāṇic period, that one begins to suspect whether this was all a gradual development of what we call the Āryan religion itself. This is mainly due to the fact that the main historical sources of the Dravidian culture in the hoary past were not made available to us uptill-now. Thanks to the efforts made by Father Heras in this direction. His decipherment of the 'picto-phonographic' inscriptions has indeed worked as a revelation in the history of the Dravidian civilization in India. And in our opinion it positively possesses the possibilities of throwing over-board the Āryan theory as it is propounded to-day.

2. Along with the religious myths and legends, we hear of the wandering mendicants also in ancient India. Buddhism and Jainism seem to be a development of the same. Though we are not in a position at the present juncture, to state exactly when the different kinds of worship and the various religious practices came into vogue, yet we may definitely say that almost all of them had come into existence in the time of Buddha. The Niddesa, one of the books of the Pāli Buddhist Canon (4th Cen. B. C.) gives an account of the different religious systems that prevailed in those days.¹ "The deity of the lay followers of the Ājivaka is the Ājivaka, of those of the Niggaṇṭhas is the Niggaṇṭhas, of those of the Jaṭilas is the Jaṭilas, of those of the Paribbā-

1 Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, IV, pp. 3-4.

jakas is the Paribbājakas, of those of the Avaruddhakas is the Avaruddhakas, and the deity of those who are devoted to an elephant, a horse, a cow, a dog, a crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Paṇṇabhadda, Maṇibhadda, Aggi, Nāgas, Supaṇṇas, Yakkhas, Asuras, Gandhabbas, Mahārāyas, Chanda, Suriya, India, Brahma, Deva, is the elephant, the horse, the cow, the dog, the crow, Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Paṇṇabhadda, Maṇibhadda respectively." Along with this we find the idea of Avatāra also was in the process of formation then. From what Buddha and Mahāvīra preached we know how the life in man was valued more than even the Brahmanic Gods themselves. Man on earth was the supreme being. And eventually Buddha and Mahāvīra were considered as Gods on earth later on. Thus, instead of finding the origin of the idea of Avatāra in the Brahmanical works, we find it in the fusion of the ideas of these different religious sects in ancient India.

Even though we get a clue in connection with the existence of various religious sects in the time of Buddha, yet we find a full development of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism—as we find them today—had not taken place then. Even the doctrine of devotion itself seems to have been in the process of formation. The doctrine of devotion is a combination of the idea of a supreme God-head, towards whom the devotee looks with reverence and awe, and seeks protection from him after surrendering his all-in-all, and the idea of religious discipline. In fact, when a logical turn is given to the emotional side of man, we designate the same as Bhakti. And this doctrine of Devotion is not new to Indian philosophy and religion. From the Pre-Vedic time onwards, through the Upaniṣadic period and that of the Gītā, down to the period of the saints we find a gradual development of the doctrine of Devotion—ultimately culminating in the idea of Vāsudeva-Kṛiṣṇa or Rudra-Śiva as the supreme God-head on earth.

3. The history of the Bhakti doctrine may be divided **The four** into four periods *e.g.* (1) Upaniṣadic period ; **periods** (2) Religio-Philosophic period ; (3) Āchārya period ; and fourthly (4) the period of Saints :—

In the first period, we find how the doctrine of Devotion along with the basic principles of Indian
(i) **The** philosophy were in a process of gradual develop-
Upaniṣadic ment. The inscriptions found at Mohenjo
period. Daro, Chanhū Daro and Harappa clearly prove the existence of the traces of the idea of superiority of god Śiva along with that of devotion towards Him. Even the early idea of Yogic discipline can be perceived from the images of the figure of Āṇ, seated in a Yogic posture, obtaining in Mohenjo Daro and other places.¹ Later on, in the Vedic period, we find how the Vedic seers sang songs of devotion addressed to Varuṇa. However, it was only in the Upaniṣadic period that we find a definite mention made of the word *Upāsanā*, as also of Rudra-Śiva and Vāsudeva as supreme God-heads on earth (Kaṭha and Śvetās'vatara.)

In the second period, on the other hand, efforts were being made at to collect together the heterogeneous
(ii) **Religio-** principles in different religious systems, and
Philosophic thus to make the Hindu religion the most
period. popular one in the whole world. This was however, made mainly by the author of the Gitā.

The author of the Mahā-Bhārata once boasted that:—

Yadī-hāsti tadanyatra yanne-hāsti na kutrachit.

So that according to him everything was to be found in the Mahābhārata. We may say so regarding the author of the Gitā also. The author of the Gitā gathered together all that was best in the different religious systems and philosophical

1 *cf.* Sardesai Commemoration Volume pp. 223-224 H. Heras Sg. : Plastic Representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians.

tenets, and thus created a consistent philosophy of his own. In fact, the Sāmkhya, Yoga, the Vedānta (as it was then understood), the Mīmāṃsa and other doctrines are introduced in the *Gitā*. On the other hand the Bhakti, Jnyāna, and the Karma-mārga all find their place in the work. While doing this, the author gave to his work a firm religious back-ground so as to combat with other religious systems which were considered as heterodox *i.e.* Buddhism and Jainism. Buddha was not willing to ask his followers to wade their way through the subtleties of metaphysics, and advised them that by practising the Dhamma they would attain Nirvāṇa. The doors of his Dhamma were kept wide open to the poor and the rich alike. Even so with the author of the *Gitā*. The author of the *Gitā*, introduced the doctrine of Bhakti in his work, and said, that by offering a leaf of a holy plant, a flower, a fruit, or even a handful of water to Lord Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, one would attain Nirvāṇa. Again like Buddha, we find in Kṛṣṇa a God on earth. In fact, for the first time in the religious history of India Kṛṣṇa finds a unique place by being identified with a God on earth as well as with the Nirguṇa Brahman of the Upaniṣads. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has given the characteristics of the Hindu Theism.¹ He says, "If they mean by Theism the Deism of the eighteenth century, according to which the world is a machine constructed and set in motion by God, who remains apart from it, with perhaps the additional doctrine that he enters into relations with men who worship and appeal to him, they are probably right. But this is not Hindu Theism. The immanence of God in the external world and in the heart of man is its essential doctrine." Therefore this introduction of the fusion of the Pantheistic and the Theistic in the *Gitā* is due to the author's skill. In fact, the author of the *Gitā* has brought about a striking unity between the principles of early Buddhism and the later

1 Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, IV. p. 224.

Upaniṣadic doctrine of Supreme Brahman. While doing so, he has very shrewdly introduced the character of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who serves both the purposes at the same time. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in his work, "Creative period—History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. II," finds the origin of the theory of Avatāra in the sacerdotal religious expressions, *i.e.* Rūpu, Tanu etc. obtaining in the Brāhmaṇas. But if one can appreciate and evaluate the views expressed above, then the solution of the following verses also becomes easier :—

"Sarva Dharmān parityajya māmēkam śaraṇam vraja."

or, *"Swadharmē nidhanam śreyah para-Dharmo bhayāvahah."*

In fact, what were these other religious systems of which the author of the Gītā was so afraid? Therefore to combat with the earlier phases of the Jaina and other systems—the author of the Gītā has tried his utmost to bring about a striking unity between all the existing religious systems in ancient India. At the same time, in doing so, he wanted to see that persons of various shades and opinions should take the shelter of his work. And eventually, we find, that the various Āchāryas have tried to propound their own theories in the light of the Gītā itself.

The wave of the Bhagavad-Gītā period lasted till about the 8th century A. D. The religion propounded in the Gītā was going on hand in hand with those of Śaiva, Buddhist, Jaina and other religious systems. Side by side or alternatively we find that all these religious systems prospered. In the reigns of the kings of the Maurya, Bhāras'iva, Vākātaka or the Gupta dynasties, as well as in the solitary periods of Harṣa, Śas'āṅka and others, religious art and architecture flourished. It was in this period that the Vaiṣṇavite works, the Pancharātra Āgama, the Nārada Bhakti Sūtra and the Śaṇḍīya Sūtra as also the Śaiva Āgamas and the Tantras came into existence. But when the Hindus had exhausted almost all the resources of adaptation, and when the Buddhists actually began to practise the debased forms of

Śākta and other forms of worship, for the sake of spreading their own religion, we find that the religious, artistic, and moral growth began to wane ; and by about the time of the Great Āchārya Śaṅkara we find the people of India almost deprived of the purer forms of religious instinct. In fact, the decline of all the religious, political, and artistic growth began to take place after this. Buddhism becomes almost extinct in India. The fall of the great empires led to the fall of the political, economic and religious supremacy of the people. The people of India were deprived of the religious back-bone and all the intellectual resources seem to have been exhausted. Eventually, after about the ninth century A. D. we begin to find almost a blank in the history of India.

With the exception of Śaṅkara, we think that the period of the Āchāryas was more or less co-extensive
 (iii) Acharya with that of the Saints. In this period, a Period and systematic and logical exposition of different the Period of branches of philosophy was aimed at. It is Saints. also equally true that the various Saints in India drew inspiration from the teachings of these Āchāryas. However, we shall see about it later on.

After the period of the Bhagavad-Gitā, we find that the wave of Devotion soon revived. It began with
 (iv) Period the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the south under the leadership of Saints ship of Rāmānuja. The great Madhva almost brought it to perfection by propounding his own theory of Dualism in the Kannaḍa country. The Haridāsas were the direct followers of Madhva. On the other hand, Mukundarāja, Jnyāndev and Ēkanātha, mainly following the principles of Advaita, gave to the doctrine a different colouring altogether. Ekanātha, who may be called as an exponent (however we differ from the view expressed by other scholars in this respect) of the same, first propounded the doctrine of Advaita-Bhakti or Jnyānottara-Bhakti as it is otherwise

called, thus beautifully assimilating the two principles of Dvaita and Advaita. According to him, "The God that is in Hari also exists in the heart of hearts of the devotee also." Besides this, the Viras'aiva movement also was started in Karnāṭak under the leadership of Basavaṇṇa. Further, various Bhakti Schools came into existence in other parts of India also.

In this period, with the aid of all that was good in different systems of philosophy and religions, the Saints tried to spread the ideas of universal love and God-head throughout India. Like the Dhamma of the Great Gautama Buddha, the doors of Hindu religion were thrown wide open to all the different castes and communities. Like Buddha, the Saints had made the Hindu religion a faith for the poor. The Vārkaris of Mahārāṣṭra, the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, the Viras'aivas, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, the Chaitanyas, the Rāmānandis, and others, tried to make the Hindu religion popular by singing songs of devotion at the doors of the poor and the rich alike. In fact this Bhakti wave that mainly originated in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, lasted till about the middle of the nineteenth century A. D., and we find a number of Saints produced thousands of devotional songs to the glory of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. In the very name and meritorious deeds of Kṛṣṇa, or Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, many a devotee found solace.

2. Haridāsa Movement : Its main Features.

1. It is really an unfortunate episode that the religious history of Karnāṭak has been kept in the back-Introductory. ground uptill-now. Even Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has not referred to the Viṭṭhal cult which originated and flourished in Karnāṭak since the thirteenth century A.D. (cf. His work : Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism). Not to mention the efforts made by Dr. Kittel and Rice, it may be asserted that only in recent years some efforts have been made to furnish a historically correct account in connection with the Haridāsas. The late R. B. Narasimhachar has given a brief survey of these Haridāsas in his "Karnāṭak Kavicharite". Mr. Belur Keshavadas of Mysore, in his recently published work 'Śrī Karnāṭak Bhakti-Vijaya' Vols. I & II, has given a detailed account of the various historical incidents and miraculous deeds in the lives of some of the Haridāsas. Sjt. R. R. Diwakar has written a work called 'Hari-Bhakti-Sudhe'. Sjt. Masti Venkatesha Ayengar has partly dealt with the topic of the Haridāsa movement in his interesting work 'Popular Culture in Karnāṭak'. It should also be noted in this connection that some of the original works of the Haridāsas have been published and are now available to us. Still a systematic and trustworthy collection ought to be made, so that a full and succinct account of the lives and works of the Dāsas may be dealt with in a separate and independent Volume.

2. The word Dāsakūṭa denotes "A class of Dāsas (Slaves of Hari)", and it is equivalent to Dasakūṭa. the expression "*Bhakti-Pantha*" or "*Bhakti Sāṃpradāya*". The word "Dāsarū" and "Vyāsarū" first

came into vogue in the time of Purandaradāsa and his religious preceptor Vyāsarāya. Later on, the disciples of Purandaradāsa were called as “Dāsakuṣṭhas”. But afterwards the words Vyāsakūṭa and Dāsakūṭa assumed a different meaning altogether. “Vyāsakūṭa” meant the branch of devotees who were well versed in Sanskrit and who knew the philosophy in the original, and Dāsakūṭa meant that branch of the devotees who conveyed the message of the Dvaita philosophy and religion through the vernaculars.

3. The works of the Haridāsas are varied and numerous.

Tradition has it that Purandaradāsa alone composed about 4,75,000 songs in Kanarese.

Haridāsas. About twenty-five thousand songs are attributed to Vijayadāsa alone. Jagannātha is said to have composed not less than ten thousand songs. We need not go into the details with regard to the veracity of the above statements. But one fact remains true, that from the songs available to us even now, the number of the same is not small indeed. Also the names of about 200 Dāsas were made available to us. As can be distinguished from the three Charts, (*cf.* Appendices) we find that every Dāsa has his own independent Title or *nom-de-plume*. It should also be noted in this connection, that some of the Titles end in the word Viṭṭhala and the others do not.

The extent of the territory in which the Haridāsas of the Kanarese country lived and flourished is co-extensive with the boundaries of Karnāṭak in different historical periods. In fact, the Districts of Ahmaḍnagar, Satara, Sholapur, the four Districts of Bombay Karnāṭak, Mysore, parts of the Madras Presidency and the Nizam dominions were once under the sway of the Kanarese kings. Equally so, the Dāsas tried to spread and inculcate the Mādhva doctrine through every nook and corner of Karnāṭak.

4. The Haridāsas, like their contemporaries in other provinces in India *e.g.* Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarāt, **Teachings** Bengal and others, have tried to expound the **of the** three aspects of Indian ethics *e.g.* the Bhakti, **Haridāsas.** Jnyāna, and Karma-Mārga respectively. Mainly drawing inspiration from the doctrine of Madhva, the Haridāsas believed in the consequent difference between God and man. Unlike their contemporaries in Mahārāṣṭra, especially Ekanātha, who tried to bring about a beautiful combination of Dvaita and Advaita, these Haridāsas have introduced the Dvaita element throughout their works. Moreover, having dealt with the darker aspects of Samsāra, their works none-the-less contain a strong note of optimism. Mainly drawing inspiration from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, as interpreted in the light of the doctrine of Dualism, they preached the doctrine of Bhakti in Kannaḍa, and inculcated that by following the Hindu Dharma, they would attain the ultimate goal.

5. One of the most important aspects of the works of these Haridāsas is their contribution to the **Contribution** Kannaḍa language. Mr. E. P. Rice seems to **to the** be correct when he says, that, "it is at this time, **Kannada** the sixteenth century, and especially in the **language.** poetry of the Vaiṣṇavas, that a transition from Mediæval to Modern Kanarese begins to take place..... Many ancient verbs and nouns fall into disuse. The letter *ṛa* begins to be used laxly in alliteration with other letters, and is finally dropped altogether. Verbs, nouns and suffixes hitherto having consonantal endings, now have the vowel *U* added to them to assist enunciation. The form of the present tense is changed, and a contingent future is newly introduced".¹ Apart from this, the real credit is due to these Haridāsas for imparting the philosophical knowledge in the

1 Rice : History of Kanarese Literature, p. 78.

Kannaḍa tongue. Sanskrit was understood as the language of Gods, and serious philosophical topics could not be inculcated through the Vernaculars, which were taken to be degraded by the Savants of the day. But like Mukundarāja, Jnyānes'vara and Ekanātha in Mahārāṣṭra, Śrīpādarāya was the first to popularise his three works in Kanarese *i.e.* Bhramaragitā, Veṇugitā, and Gopigitā respectively, which were required to be sung every day in his Maṭh situated in the town of Śrī Ranga. Narahari-Tīrtha, who was second to adorn the pontifical throne after Madhva, had himself composed a few Songs in Kannaḍa. Later, Jagannāthadāsa, an erudite Sanskrit Scholar, who formerly resented the Haridāsas for their conveying the teachings of Madhva in Kannaḍa, later himself composed works of high merit in Kannaḍa. In doing so, he has made a bold statement in defence of the Kannaḍa language. He says :

“ If a blind man calls a looking-glass by different names, will the learned forsake that by merely condemning it, without (however) looking into it ? (Even so), never mind, if the language that sings the glories of Mādhava be Prākṛit, will the learned, after hearing it, remain without being enamoured of the same everyday ?

“ Having perceived the disc of the Sun, if a thief instead of howing at it, through hatred despises it—is that a defect in the Sun (itself) ? Even so, of what avail would it be, if anyone hates this work because it is not in Sanskrit ?

“ Can the water of the Ganges contained in the bowl of a sinful man be called as worth drinking ? So also the unpleasant poetry composed (even in Sanskrit) by other poets is unworthy of being heard by the learned. And the very Prākṛit that expounds the story of God shall be counted as Sanskrit, and will bestow salvation upon those that listen to it with devotion. ”

—*Hari-Kathāmṛitasāra, Sandhi* 16, Vs. 34-36.

Thus the ancient tradition was broken once for all, and that too so successfully.²

6. The works of the Haridāsas are also known for their unsurpassed combination of music and poetry. Unlike their contemporary saints in other provinces they composed songs in various metres *e.g. Pada, Suḷādi, Ugābhoga, Tatwa-Poetry. suvāli, Śloka, Kanda, Vachana, Gadya, Śīsa-padya, Vritta, Dvīpādi, Tripādi, Chaupādi, Ṣaṭpādi, Aṣṭapādi, Ragale, Yālapada Etc.* Well-versed in the art of Music, Purandaradāsa is said to have produced the famous Pillarigīta.

The state of Society depicted in the works of the Haridāsas is predominantly Brahmanical. Peculiarly enough, we find that no sweeping changes seem to have taken place in the social customs and manners in Southern India since the thirteenth century onwards. In the reigns of the Hoysaḷas, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, and the Rājas of Mysore, a definite impetus was given to national art and architecture. In such a free atmosphere of freedom and independent thought the greatest of the Kannaḍa poets could breathe at ease and produce such wonderful specimens of literary art. In fact, the Haridāsa movement has done a great service to the masses in Karnāṭak. But unfortunately, mainly owing to the loss of political power and supremacy, a gradual decline of the Bhakti wave begins to take place after the middle of the 19th century A. D. Till then, the Haridāsas, while inculcating the doctrine of Dvaita, have also preached the doctrine of equality of status in society. Neither sex nor position in society could come

² Such a reformation was taking place at this time in the whole of India. The expressions of the saints of Mahārāṣṭra in this connection are also interesting. *cf. Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra* ; Prof. R. D. Ranade, p. 257.

in the way of the realization of the supreme Bliss. And eventually, we need not be surprised if we find the names of about three females in the list of the Dāsakūṭa. Again for the attainment of the highest goal the ordinary barriers of caste and creed proved to be of no avail to the Haridāsas. Suffice it to say, that the names and works of these Haridāsas would be remembered by the poor and the rich in every home in the Kannaḍa country as long as the Kannaḍa language survives.

7. 'Apart from the theology, the system of Madhva is very similar to that of the Bhāgavata sect. The **The system of the Mādhvas.** centre of the religion is the adoration of Kṛiṣṇa by Bhakti. Śiva also is worshipped, and the five gods recognized.' But Dr. J. N. Farquhar does not seem to be correct when he says, that "Neither the Bhāgavatas nor the Mādhvas recognize Rādhā."³ Because, we find that Śrīda-Viṭhala has introduced the element of 'Rādhā' in his famous work Rādhāvilās which was probably written in the first quarter of the nineteenth century A. D. (cf. also the works of Prasanna Venkaṭes'a.)

8. However, the Haridāsas can be divided into three groups: (1) The first group was represented by **The Three Groups.** Vijayadāsa, Jagannāthadāsa, Venkaṭes'a and others. These poets mainly produced literature which was more or less specifically meant for the Mādhvas. (2) The second was represented by Vyāsarāya, Gopāladāsa, Subbaṇṇadāsa etc., who created a literature which was meant for the Brahmanical world in general. In fact, they taught the main principles of Indian Ethics and its three divisions e.g. Jnyāna, Bhakti, and Karma. (3) On the other hand, Śrīpādarāya, Vādirāja, Purandaradāsa and his sons, Kanakadāsa and others preached the ordinary code of

3 cf. J. N. Farquhar: Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 237.

morality for people of all the castes and communities. True, the Haridāśas generally dealt with all the topics regarding the code of morality and religion, but the predominating element consists of one of these three classes. Mr. Masti Venkatesha Iyengar has, however, summarized the position of the Haridāsa movement. He says, that "The Haridāsa movement made an effort to place a complete code of morality and religion before the people. Its main object was to condemn formalism and ritualism in religion and a too arduous pursuit of wordly prosperity. It preached, instead, devotion to God and recognition of spiritual values. It preached also that the better life was not meant for a few people but was meant for all, and should be striven after by all."⁴ However, we shall deal with the psychological aspect of the teachings of the Haridāśas in the next chapter.

⁴ *cf.* Triveni, Vol. IX No. 10, p. 46.

3. Contribution of the Haridāśas to World Culture.

1. 'In the wonderland of Southern India, Nature seems to have endowed the people with rare gifts in **Introductory.** the field of spiritualism.' In fact, almost all the Āchāryas, with the exception of Vallabha, were born and flourished in this holy land of the Daxiṇāpatha. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa specifically states, that "the Doctrine of Devotion (Bhakti) shall spread far and wide in the Draviḍa country in the Kali age."¹ Later, Rāmānuja and Madhva may be said to have brought the same to perfection. Further, it was in this part of the country again that various schools of devotion *e. g.* the Dāsakūṭa of Karnāṭak, the Vārakarīs of Mahārāṣṭra, the Viras'aivas, and the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas—arose, and they propounded their own doctrine and asked the people of the land to surrender their all-in-all to Hari (or Śiva as case may be), who happens to be the Over-Lord of the Universe. However, we are concerned here mainly with the teachings of the Haridāśas of Karnāṭak.

2. The Doctrine of Madhva, which consists mainly of Theism, is beautifully summarized in an oft-quoted Sanskrit verse, composed by Vyāsarāya *i.e.*

श्रीमन्मध्वमते हरिः परतरस्सत्यं जगत्तत्त्वतो
भेदो जीवगणा हरेस्तु चरा नीचोच्चभावं गताः ।
मुक्तिर्नैजमुखातुभूतिरमला भक्तिश्च तत्साधनम्
ह्यक्षादित्रितयं प्रमाणमखिलात्मन्यैकवेद्यो हरिः ॥

"In Śrī Madhva's theology, Hari is supreme, the world is

1 Bhāgavata Purāṇā, Book XI, Chapter 5, vv. 38-40.....*cf.* also Vaiṣṇavism and Ś'aivism : Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 68.

real, separateness is true, the individual souls are infinitely graded as superior and inferior, and are dependent on God, liberation is self-realization consisting in the enjoyment of such bliss as remained latent in the soul. Pure Bhakti (devotion) is the means to this end. Perception, inference, and testimony, are the sources to knowledge—mundane and heavenly. Hari is Knowable in the entirety of the Vedas and by Vedas alone.”

—*Life and Teachings of Śrī Madhvāchārya* pp. 279-280.

The study of the Purāṇas as a source of information regarding the history of Theism was rather ignored till about the tenth century A. D. Madhvāchārya has, however, freely drawn upon the materials available in the Rig-Veda, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Pancharātra Saṁhitās and other works on Bhakti. In fact, one can safely say that the system of Madhva consists of a combination of the philosophical principles propounded in the Prasthānatrayī and the doctrine of Devotion as obtained in the Purāṇas and other works. The Purāṇas do really contain a repository of knowledge; and they also delineate the life-sketches of a series of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Saints in ancient India. It is upon the experiences of these Vaiṣṇava philosopher-saints that Madhvāchārya seems to have built his own doctrine of Dualism. The stories of King Prithu, Bali, Śibi and others, or of Pralhāda and Dhruva, or of the Elephant-King (Gajendra) and the sinner Ajāmila, are such as to appeal to any devotional mind in the whole world. And to give a firm religious background to all the mystic experiences of these saints was a work by itself; and it was left for the great Madhva—who, however, has done the same in such an excellent manner indeed!

3. The doctrine of Devotion (Bhakti) necessarily implies **Superiority of God.** the idea of the superiority of God and the consequent inferiority of the individual souls (Jīvas). Madhvāchārya propounded that the idea of

Mokṣa was inter-connected with that of pure devotion towards the Over-Lord of the Universe. According to him, every devotee should surrender his all-in-all to Lord Hari. This idea is upheld by all the Haridāśas who flourished in the subsequent centuries.

According to Śaṅkara also upto a particular extent, the existence of a personal God is a possibility. Upto this stage, one may find that there is very little difference between the doctrine of Śaṅkara and Madhva. But when Śaṅkara begins to take his flights in the world of transcendental idealism—then alone the difference between the doctrines of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva begins to become more perceptible—*e.g.* in connection with the inter-relation between Is'vara, Jīvas, and the World. Whatever may be the differences of opinion regarding the passage of the soul after the attainment of Mokṣa, one fact is clear that the soul, as bound by the laws of Time, Space, and Causation, is not satisfied by the doctrine of Monism. In fact, the doctrine of Monism deprives the ordinary mind of the soothing solace conferred by the doctrine of devotion.

It is a fact worth noting, that even Śaṅkara has admitted this peculiar position of the finite mind *i.e.* the deficiency in man as compared with the Over-Lord of the Universe. He gives a clear expression to this idea in one of the stanzas of his *Ṣaṭpadī* :

Satyapi bhedāpagamē Nātha tavāham na māma kinastvam ;

Sāmudrō hi taraṅgaḥ na khalu Samudro hi tārangaḥ .”

though the difference (between Thyself and myself) has vanished, yet I belong to Thee, Oh Lord, and Thou art not mine. The waves are of the ocean and not that the ocean is made up of these waves. ”

Even Jnyānes'vara, one of the greatest saints Mahārāṣṭra has ever produced, has expressed in his Jnyānēs'varī his

ideas about the difference between God and God-realizer. He says :

“ And as the moon on the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month is just short of the size on the full-moon day, as gold of fifteen carats is just short of gold of sixteen carats, and as one can distinguish between the sea and the river by the stillness and motion of waters, similarly, to that extent only is the difference between God and God-realizer. He attains to God falling only just short of His entire Being.¹”

Thus, in our opinion, the doctrine of mysticism stands on the silver line of Dvaita and Advaita—one basing its conclusions on the authority of Tradition, and the other on the authority of Anubhava (Self-realization). The Ānanda attained by following one doctrine or the other is the same. On this point at least all the devotional saints of India are agreed. All of them preach that Bhakti is essential for the attainment of Mokṣa. They are all worshippers of Hari, and they recognise the ten Avatāras. They quote the instances of the devotees who flourished in the past, and show a peculiar kind of reverence towards the rulers of the land, who propagated the doctrine of Vaiṣṇavism.

4. As Prof. R. D. Ranade has beautifully put it : “ In regard to the value of the name, the mystics

Name of of India are no less insistent upon its efficacy
Hari. than their compeer mystics of the West.

Indeed, if there is any bond of unity more than any other between Hinduism and Christianity in their teaching of realization of God, it is their identical insistence on the efficacy of meditation by means of the Name. Even in the Egyptian and Hebrew religions, we find the same insistence upon the efficacy of Name.²” Even so, all the

1 *cf.* *Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra*, p. 128,

2 *Ibid.* Preface, P. 14

Haridāśas of the Kannaḍa country were perfect believers in the Name of Hari. However, the subject shall be properly dealt with in subsequent chapters.

5. Another important feature of the Teachings of the Haridāśas is that their songs depict their **Personalistic** personal experiences while treading on the **Element.** path of Mokṣa through the dreary desert of Saṁsāra. These experiences are by their very nature varied and numerous : because the joys and sorrows or the failures and uncertainties in life of a particular Dāsa are bound to be different from those of the other. In fact, the particular environments in which a particular Dāsa was born, or the particular agonies through which he had to pave his way to attain the *summum bonum* of life — these necessarily give a new and different colouring to his teachings, and thus create a consistent philosophy of his own. Prof. R. D. Ranade compares these agonies of Saṁsāra through which the devotee paves his way, with what St. John of the Cross calls as 'Dark Night of the Soul.'³ Like his great successor in Mahārāstra i.e. Tukārāma, Purandaradāsa also experienced the Dark Night. Whereas Vādirāja and Jagannāthadāsa do not seem to have felt the agonies of Saṁsāra to the same degree as the other Haridāśas did. However, we are not in a position to discuss the problem in detail here in this little volume.

6. Besides this, the works of the Haridāśas may be said to contain a complete code of morality for **Life of** mankind. Like Plotinus or Jnyānesvara, the **Morality.** Haridāśas also have fully described the qualifications of an ideal saint (Parama Yōgin); and they have proved beyond doubt that a life of morality is a *sine qua non* for the attainment of Mokṣa. Mere outward appearances nor mere observances of the religious rites,

³ Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra, Preface, P. 17

without real devotion towards Hari—are of no avail. In one of his songs the great Kanaka has given a word of caution to those who are striving after the attainment of the Bliss. He says :

“Do not forget, Oh, be cautious, (that you) offer gift and oblige others. Remember, (that you) do not think ill of those that rely upon you—thereby you will be ruined. Remember, that there are relatives when you are living a decent life in unity. Remember, that thou shouldst not live having killed many for the sake of this nasty Saṁsāra. Remember that you should not be pedantic (or scornful) saying that you earned a good deal and lived very decently. Remember that this is (all) the fruit of the past meritorious actions—but think of futurity. Remember, that woman, land, and money that are mocking at you, shall also vanish. Remember, that you should not rely (on these) henceforth. Remember, that there is death awaiting you. Remember, that you should not threaten the poor, thinking that you are powerful. Remember, that without the least uncertainty, the servants of Yama shall drag you to hell. Be cautious as not to forget Ādikes'ava dwelling in Belur.”

Or again Purandaradāsa, a poet of varied intelligence, has tried to depict the main characteristics of the Ideal Sage. He says :

“After one is born as a man, he must have the name of Hari on his tongue. He should be kind to all ; should abandon all sins ; and should utter (the name of) Hari at every stage. He should destroy the six (Ṣaḍripu) enemies ; should be above the three Guṇas ; and should join Brahman. He should trample upon the eight kinds of pride (Aṣṭamada), and should forsake the friendship of the wicked. One should look into the Vedas and Śāstras

and discard arrogance arising out of differentiation, and remember Mādhava. One should imbibe (the spirit of) tranquility and forgiveness; should have control over the senses; and should discard illusion and anger. One should associate with the Saints and bow down at the preceptor's feet. One should know the means of attainment (of Mokṣa), and should be on the path of dispassionateness. One should enjoy whatever may befall; should accept praise and abuses equally; and should always remember the name of father Purandara Viṭhala."

7. Another important trait of the Haridāsa movement is that it is optimistic from the beginning. The **Strong note of Optimism.** darker and more tragic aspects of the mundane existence could never come in their way. In fact, they are afraid of none except God Hari. Feeling the utmost devotion towards Him, they do not feel worried even at the extraordinary calamities in life. One of the psalms of Purandara would elucidate the point better. The poet says :

"What, if anybody is pleased with us or hates us? To us, the slaves of Hari (Haridāsas), who is sleeping in the milky ocean.

"What, if the ruler of the land expels us? from his territory, or (even) if the wild beasts in a dense forest cross our way? What if the epidemic diseases or the hidden army attack our bodies? (To us) who proclaim (before the world) the glories of the son of Vasudēva.

"What, if our parents do not wish for our welfare, or even if our companions show increased hatred towards us? What if the very wife, children, and relations boil within themselves (against us)?—To us the devotees, who enshrine in the heart of hearts the name of God of unlimited kindness.

“What, if the serpents creeping in the forest twist themselves around (our) legs, or even if the insects *i.e.* the humming bees bite the skin (of our body)? What if the favour of the planets *i.e.* the Saturn, Mars, Mercury, is lost (to us).—To us, the devotees who meditate upon the name of Purandara Viṭhala, (who is) the Lord of the Poor.”

While giving this brief survey of the main features of the Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas, we still feel the want of something—mainly on account of the fact that most of their treasures still lie hidden to us. But a day will come when we shall be in a position to have a more clear perspective of their sublime teachings—of their individual efforts made towards the attainment of Mōkṣa.

4. Chronology and History of the Dāsakūṭa

1. The question regarding the Chronology and History of the Dāsakūṭa is inter-connected with the **Vithobā** of history of God Viṭṭhal of Paṇḍharpūr. In fact, **Paṇḍharpur**, the Haridāsas were the first and foremost followers of God Viṭṭhal (they were also necessarily the followers of Venkaṭeś'a of Tirupati and Kṛiṣṇa of Uḍupi). Puṇḍalīka, a Kannaḍa Saint, was the first great high priest of the God of Paṇḍharpur. The actual date when he must have flourished is not yet ascertained by scholars. On the banks of the Bhīmā river, however, a temple consisting of a Śiva-Liṅga has been built—and it must remain dubious ' whether the temple is actually his Samādhi or one which has been built as a token of his memory '.¹

A great controversy has centred round the question regarding the name of Pāṇḍuraṅga. Hemachandra, in his *Dēs'ī-nāmamālā* has interpreted the word Pāṇḍuraṅga as being the name of Rudra or Śiva. In the light of this interpretation, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in his 'Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism', has argued that, " Pāṇḍuraṅga, who is the same as Pāṇḍuraṅga of Hemachandra, is however a popular name of Viṭṭhal. Whether the city was called Pāṇḍuraṅgapura on account of its containing Śiva is doubtful" Later on, he remarks, that, " when Viṭhobā's importance increased in times so vastly that Śiva was thrown completely in the back-ground. Pāṇḍuraṅga became identified with Viṭṭhal." ² Prof. R. D. Ranade also endorses the same view-point.³ But,

1 cf. *Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra*, p. 188.

2 Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. IV, p. 125.

3 cf. *Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra*, p. 153.

in our opinion, the word Paṇḍuraṅga of Hemachandra should be distinguished from the word Pāṇḍuraṅga. The word Raṅga always denotes 'Kriṣṇa' in the Kannaḍa country. The same meaning has been given by Dr. Kittel in his Dictionary. Then who was this Pāṇḍuraṅga (or Raṅga of the Pāṇḍus (*cf.* Mahābhārata) or Pāṇḍavas,—an irregular compound form of the two words Pāṇḍu and Raṅga) even originally ? This seems to be much more convincing mainly on account of the fact, that God Viṭhobā is called as a Kannaḍa God belonging to Karnāṭak in one of the Abhaṅgas ascribed to the authorship of Jnyanēs'vara.¹

2. Very little is known regarding the question when the Viṭṭhal cult did actually originate in Karnāṭak. As we have observed elsewhere, the Districts of Ahmadnagar, Satara and Sholapur too were under the sway of the Kannaḍa kings.² Purandaradāsa himself was firstly residing at Purandargaḍ (now in Poona Dist.) and then became the greatest devotee of Viṭṭhala. The reference to the Kannaḍa Saint Puṇḍalika need not be made again. There is an inscription of King Sōmes'vara, Dated 1237 A.D. (Śake 1159), which reads that " Sōmes'vara had conquered the kings round about his territory, and had encamped in the year 1237 A.D. in a town called *Paṇḍarigē* on the banks of the Bhīmarathī, where Puṇḍalika was being lovingly remembered by the people as a great sage." It may also be noted in this connection, how the word Paṇḍharpur might have been derived from the words Paṇḍarigē, Paṇḍharī, and Paṇḍharpur respectively.

Apart from this fact, Achalānanda is said to have been the earliest of the Dāsas, and that he flourished in about the eighth century A. D. But on linguistic and other grounds he cannot be placed before the 16th century A. D. Another story is

1 The line is as under :

"कानडा हो विठ्ठल कर्णाटकु ॥" *cf.* N. S. Rājpurōhit : Mahārāṣṭra va Karnāṭak (Kesari : 1912-1913).

2 *cf.* A. P. Karmarkar : Boundaries of Ancient Karnāṭak and Mahārāṣṭra, Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XIV, No. 4, pp. 776-86.

current. A group of about sixty Ārādhyaś happened to pass by Paṇḍharpur. They did not wish to visit Viṭhobā's temple as it happened to be a Vaiṣṇavite one. They were bathing on the banks of the Bhīmarathī, and on opening their eyes, to their surprise, they found themselves in the innermost temple of Viṭhobā. Afterwards they all of them became Haridāśas. A song is current as being composed by one of these Ārādhyaś :—

“ My life has become even worse than that of a monkey as having lost my Liṅga on the banks of the Ganges (e. g. Bhīmarathī). Henceforth, I shall have full faith at Thy feet, Oh, Śrinidhi !—Honour and dishonour are dedicated to Thee now ! ”

But no exact date of the song can be given.

3. In the Appendices three Charts containing the names of about 200 Dāśas are given. The Charts are **The Three Charts.** supplied by Mr. Narayan Rao (Joint author). The first¹ of these Charts deals with the traditional list of the Dāśakūṭa handed down from one Guru to the other. The second contains a miscellaneous list of the Dāśas, whose Titles end with the name of Viṭṭhal. The third includes the names of those, whose Titles do not end with the word Viṭṭhal, but some other name of Hari.

Besides this, the details regarding the various places in which the Dāśas flourished, and also the dates in the lives of the Dāśas, wherever available, are furnished.

It should be noted in this connection, that it is impossible to deal with the life-sketches of all the Haridāśas in this little volume. Therefore, we have selected a few of them and have tried to narrate the main events in their lives. While doing so, we have sufficiently drawn upon the materials from the works of those who have already stepped into the field up-till-now.

1 cf. Also the Charts published by Mr. H. G. Bengeri, in the issue of the “ Jayakarnāṭak. ”

5. (a) Narahari-Tīrtha.

I. Life-Story.

1. Naraharītīrtha, whose original name was Shāma-shāstri, may be said to be the earliest of the Haridāśas known to us. He succeeded Padmanābhatīrtha and occupied the pontifical throne for nine years *i.e.* Ś. 1214-1221. Prior to this, Naraharītīrtha was acting as the Daftardār (Accountant General) in the Ganjam province, where he was very popular. A tradition is current—that Madhvāchārya happened to visit the province after having completed his pilgrimage to Badarī. Naraharītīrtha, however, helped Madhvāchārya in his propaganda. Later on, being convinced by the doctrine of Madhva, he himself became his disciple. This led many others also to join the new sect. Naraharītīrtha wanted to follow the Āchārya in his tour but Madhvāchārya did not give his consent to the same. But the latter expressed the wish that he wanted, for purposes of worship, the two beautiful idols of Rāma and Sītā lying in the treasury of the King of Orissa. Naraharītīrtha is said to have received (after his retirement) the idols as a present for his past services. He, however, presented the same to Madhvāchārya at Uḍipi. The idols are worshipped in the Mantrālayamaṭh and the Uttarādhimaṭh respectively even to this day.

Naraharītīrtha's active period extended from Śaka 1186 to 1215. He is said to have been the ruler of Orissa for a few years. But as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar opines, "this arises from a confusion between him and a king bearing the same name, in the slightly modified form of Narasimha, who was

the actual ruler of the country from about Śaka 1191 to 1225."¹

It must remain dubious whether Naraharitīrtha's exact *nom-de-plume* was Raghukula-tilaka or Śrī Raghupati.

II. Heart-readings of Narahari-Tīrtha.

2. Narahari-Tīrtha was a renowned scholar, and he is said to have composed some songs in Kannaḍa. But only two of them are available at present. However, they seem to have been very much tampered with.

Naraharitīrtha becomes fully conscious of his own defects and sins committed in the past, and repents for the same. Here is a song which indicates this stage of repentance in the poet's career :

"(Oh) how I was enamoured ! How did I suffer greatly in the Saṁsāra. Protect me Oh, Raghukulatilaka ! In words only (was I) a slave of Hari, (but) in action (I was) a slave of the worldly pleasures. (I show a consequent) fearlessness in the betrayal of God, religion and the preceptor. In moments of solitude (I) talk of wealth, but in the presence of others, I talk of renunciation. (I feel) dubious in the service of God—but I pay high respect and honour to the ruler of the land. (I who) consider one pie (spent) for piety as one thousand gold pieces, but (on the other hand) a crore of coins spent for impious actions as one pie. (I, who am) tired of doing a pious work, am now showing complete diligence in doing bad actions."

The poet further admits that he is making a show like a snake-charmer, and that he has really become very distant to Hari. He adds that :

"(I have) become an object of hell. If anybody abuses my wife I give a retort, (and) if anybody abuses (God) Śrīpati, I enjoy the same with a smile."

1 cf. Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. IV, p. 82.

The poet repents for his past actions and utters :

“(Oh) for whose sake do I exert ? For whose sake do I hide these ornaments ? None of my wife, children and friends (shall) accompany me (in my final journey). (Therefore I) worship You, Oh ! Hari, who are adored by Brahmā and other Gods.”

3. Apart from this, Naraharitīrtha shows his utmost sincerity and sings the following song of devotion :

“ Oh Hari ! Is it proper that Thou shouldst not show mercy towards one who is serving at Thine feet ? If Thou leavest me unprotected as being sinful, will Thine renowned Title “ Saviour of the sinners ” become Universal ? Thou art all-powerful. (If Thou) dost disgrace Thine devotees, shall not Thine Title “ Lover of Devotees ” (Bhaktavatsala) become in vain ? Thou didst protect the Rīṣi Bhrugu, who kicked Thee without any fear. Oh Thou, the lifter of the mountain Mandāra, what is this novel path of forsaking me ? Didst Thou not protect Ajāmila who had become a worthless sinner ? Was he in any way nearer to Thee, and myself a stranger ? Yes, Thou didst release Pralhāda, the son of Hiranya, from his tortures. Was he Thine relative, and am I not Thine devotee ? The spoilt Ahilyā was purified by Thee. What did she offer Thee and what have I refused ?

“ Oh, do as Thou pleasest—I beseech for Thine grace, Oh Narahari the Perfect.”

Unfortunately the other songs of Naraharitīrtha are not available. Otherwise, he shows abilities as a poet of high order.

5. (b) Śrīpādarāya.¹

I. Biographical Outline.

1. About five centuries ago, there lived a poor family of one Śeshagiri Āchārya at Muḷabāgal (Kolar Life-Story District). His wife's name was Giriyammā. of It was in this family that Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa, Śrīpādarāya, who came to be later known as Śrīpādarāya, was born. The young Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa was active and intelligent and became more lovable to his parents on account of his amiable nature and working habits. Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa used to study his daily lessons, helped his father in gardening, and used to take the cattle to the forest in the remaining hours of the day.

Mr. Belur Keshavadās has beautifully narrated the account of the boyhood of Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa, and how he was entrusted for further education to Svarṇavarṇatīrtha, the Swāmi of the Maṭh situated at Śrī-Raṅga. Later on, Śrīpādarāya was initiated as an Anchorite by Svarṇavarṇatīrtha. Further, Śrīpādarāya is said to have obtained many Jahāgirs on account of his learning and scholarship in the reigns of the Kings of Vijayanagara and Chandragiri.

Śrīpādarāya was the first of the Āchāryas to introduce Kannaḍa in his Maṭh, and thus inculcate the doctrine of Dvaita in Kannaḍa. In fact, his Kanarese works *e.g.* Bhramara-Gītā, Veṇu-Gītā, and Gōpī-Gītā were required to be sung every day at the time of prayers in his Maṭh at

1 cf. The number of songs referred to are from: ಶ್ರೀಪಾದರಾಯರ ಮತ್ತು ವ್ಯಾಸರಾಯರ ಕೀರ್ತನೆಗಳು : Edited by Pavanje Gururāo, Śrī Kṛiṇṇa Press, Udipi.

Śrī-Raṅga.¹ The Chandragiri King Sālva-Nṛisimha is said to have worshipped him with Kanakābhīṣeka after having seated him upon his throne in about the year 1497 A. D.

Śrīpādarāya, while he had been once on a pilgrimage, is said to have defeated the Paṇḍits of Kāśī. His *nom-de-plume* is Raṅga-Viṭhala. The "golden-tongued" Śrīpādarāya composed many songs in Kannaḍa, out of which only a few are available to us at present.

2. The songs of Śrīpādarāya are more sublime than any of those composed by his contemporaries in Karnāṭak. The easy flow of the lines along with their combination of rhythm and meaning really create a very pleasing sensation in the mind of the readers. The songs show, moreover, a strong fervour of devotion. The personalistic element, which is visible throughout, has added to the beauty of his works.

II. Heart-readings of S'ripādarāya.

3. Like his successors Purandara and others, Śrīpādarāya experienced much heart-rending while treading on the path of liberation. Here is a mild challenge to God, whereby he asks Him that, 'if He would not bestow upon him even this much favour, why should he at all adore Him, having kept full faith at His lotus-feet?' The poet addresses :

"If Thou art not willing to bestow upon me even this much (favour), why should I adore Thee, having kept full faith at Thy lotus-feet? I have not come to beg and tease Thee, saying that I have no food and raiment. Oh Vāsudēva, it is enough if Thou art pleased to grant me the service of Thy devotees' devotee.

"I have not come for the sake of the bounties of wealth with which my wife and children should be endowed. It is enough, if Thou makest me listen only the nectar of

1 cf. S'ri Karnāṭak Bhaktavijaya, I, p. 31.

Thy Life's Story without allowing my mind to be engrossed in worldly pleasures.

"I have not approached Thee as a poor man having no ornaments or golden belt, but it is enough, if Thou grantest me (the favour) of not obstructing the pleasure (obtained) by bowing down at Thy feet, Oh Lord!" (19)

4. *Mighty power of God*: The very next moment the poet adores the mighty power of God, and seeks protection at His hands :

"Thou, who art a lion as against the elephant of sins, Oh Narahari, protect me, Oh Govinda, God of Gods!—If kiddies grow mad, do the parents throw them away instead of embracing them? If my past actions do not leave me, why should I worship Thee (at all)? The ocean which receiveth famous rivers, doth it reject young brooklets? If misfortunes and wordly difficulties would not leave me, why should I surrender to Thee, Oh Śrīpati-Govinda!—A sheep is being attacked by six tigers (Śaḍripus). Oh, relieve my soul from bondage, Father Govinda.—The maid-servant when associated with the king becomes a mistress, and iron turns itself into gold when touched by a Paras'u stone. —Oh Govinda, who pours water to the forest tree? So, protect me, without delay, Oh my Lord Govinda. Thou art the Lord of the three worlds, making the whole world play and dance to Thy tunes like a dancing puppet. Oh, Raṅga-Viṭhala, protect me. Thou art the ordainer of (my) honour and dishonour." (9)

At another moment, this passionate devotee feels a strain of pessimism and places all his cards before Hari by giving a vivid description of all the miseries in life which he had to undergo. The poet even challenges Hari by saying :

"Why didst Thou create me unnecessarily, if Thou canst not protect me? There is a saying that Thou art

the only protector. Such being the case, is it proper that Thou shouldst neglect me? I cannot get sufficient clothing to cover myself; hence, am I shivering terribly. Having forsaken (my) wife, mother, and brothers, I became a forlorn creature. There is nobody to offer me a raiment, and none to listen to my word. This poverty makes me desperate. I cannot see anyone that would show a way out for me. Do not forsake me in the midst of this ocean of Saṁsāra. Show me the other shore." (15)

5. *Admission of defects* : It is one of the main features of the doctrine of mysticism, that a mystic reaches the stage of repentance when he realizes the defects inherent in him. Or as Prof. Ranade would beautifully put it, 'the introspective analysis of his mind would put him in torment of self-calumny.' Śripādarāya makes a clean breast of his defects when he says :

"You are addressing me as a Vaiṣṇava for nothing—Me, who possess no knowledge of Para-Brahma. I put the head-mark having washed my face; but did I read the Śāstra of Sukhatīrtha (Madhvāchārya)? Only as a matter of enhancing beauty, that I wear the garland (of Tuls'i), but did I immerse myself in the ocean of Bhakti (devotion)? I exhausted myself in the village gossips; but did I take shelter at the feet of Nārāyaṇa? I was duped by the sweet talks of women, but did I respect the commands of the Aryans? Have I really realised Him as being known by the Vedas alone? Saying that the world is real, having understood the five differences (Pancha-Bheda), forsaking the eight (love, hatred etc.), and having heard and thought about the contents of the Bhāgavata—did I realize that Śri Hari is superior to Laxmi, who is superior to Brahmā, who is superior to Rudra, who is superior to

Indra, who is superior to the Gandharvas, who themselves are superior to all men? Did I, who bathed in the Ganges only to wash off the mud on my body, take the holy bath? And did I associate myself and travel in the company of the devotees of Śrī Rāṅga-Viṭhala?"(6)

The poet further admits that :

"I did not visit the holy places of Hari. I did not become the servant of God, nor did I offer the Tulsi leaves and flowers with my hands, having uttered the name of Hari, I did not have a glance at the works of Sarvajnarāya. Oh Kṛiṣṇa, having committed the most unimaginable sins most intentionally, I became a victim of Hell." (15)

6. *Idea of Rebirth and Karma* : The poet is a believer in the theory of rebirth and Karma. So he says :

"I am to reap the fruits of my past actions, which were committed knowingly. Hast Thou not created so many sinful persons like myself in this world? Oh Viṭhala! How many have not survived having meditated upon Thee with concentration?"

7. *What would save the Devotee?* : But what would save the devotee from all these miseries in life? The poet utters :

"Shall I burn my body having fallen in fire, or, shall I roll down myself from the top of the mountain to the bottom of it? (Or) shall I hang myself by means of loosening the rope from the lofty branches of a tree, or shall I cut my throat with a saw, or allow myself to be dragged by (the rope bound to the trunk of) an elephant, or shall I drink the poison of a deadly serpent? If Thou dost not protect me by giving shelter—Oh, Thou, the ocean of Kindness—who else should protect me in this world?"—The poet further adds : "Having

bent this full-grown body to the maximum extent, having ardently visited the houses of the wicked for a morsel of food for this nasty stomach—I cannot praise them (the wicked). If my life has become so miserable, is there any charm in surviving in this world ? So, Oh Śrī-Kṛṣṇa ! Thou wilt attain great fame if Thou wouldst protect me without delay.” (15)

The devotee becomes utterly helpless and utters :

“ For what do the Vedas proclaim that Thou art the Lord of wealth, and what extra wealth dost Thou get (by doing thus) ? Every moment is becoming more than a Yuga to me. I cannot see anything further. There is no doubt, Oh Govinda, that this is so. If Thou dost not protect me, it will be a matter of discredit to Thee, if they, Thy future devotees (even) hear this.” (15)

III. Who is Superior: God or Devotee?

8. In one of his songs, Śrīpādarāya draws a very beautiful comparison between God and his Devotees. The poet makes a query :

“ Oh Śrī Hari ! is it Thyself that art great, or are Thine Devotees great ? — If examined in different ways (one finds that) Thou hast become subordinate to Thy devotees. Whilst the Vedas are ever praising Thee as the Supreme Lord and the Highest Soul, Thou, dwelling in the mansion of Dharma and Arjuna, didst follow them gladly whenever Thou wert called. Then, who is great ?— Thou art considered as the Lord of the whole Universe ; therefore, Thou art very great. If Thou art pleased, Thou dost grant even Mokṣa. But when Thou art found watching the doors of King Bali, then who is great ?— In the battle-field, when the great Bhiṣma darted his arrow at Thy forehead, Thou, in response, took up the Discus (Chakra) ; but, when Thou didst

perceive the great Bhīṣma taking shelter under the garb of Thy Name, Thou went quietly back again ! Thou didst come out of the Stone—pillar for the sake of the lad (Pralhāda) in the form of a man-lion (Narasimha). Oh, Rāṅga-Viṭhala, the kind Protector of Thy devotees, when Thou art found to be under the tutelege in the minds of those that meditate upon Thee, who is really great ?” (37)

IV. Self-surrender and Devotion.

9. According to the Mādhva philosophy the following qualifications are necessary for leading one to Mokṣa, *i.e.* ‘(1) Vairāgya ; (2) Śama’(equanimity) and Dama (self-control) etc. ; (3) Acquaintance with the lore ; (4) Self-surrender (Śaraṇāgati) ; (5) Attendance on a Guru, or Preceptor ; (6) Acquisition of knowledge from the Guru ; (7) Reflection over what has been taught ; (8) Love of God (Paramāṭma-Bhakti) ; and (9) Devotion.’ Further, unlike the idea underlying in the Advaita-Bhakti or Jñānottara-Bhakti of the Monists, the Dualists have always propounded that the difference between God and the individual souls does exist even after the attainment of the Highest Bliss. Therefore, instead of the idea of the oneness of Ātman, the continuance of the state of a rapturous self-surrender and devotion towards the Supreme Lord is perceived even after the realization of the highest goal (*Aparokṣa-Jnyāna*). Here is a psalm or two sung by Śrīpādarāya in this connection.

10. *The best adornment* :—The poet expresses :

“ Among the adornments this is the best adornment. The (utterance of the) name of Nārāyaṇa is an ornament to the tongue. The pilgrimage (to the different places) of Hari is an adornment to the feet. The Vrindāvana of Tulsī (plant) is an adornment to the house. The (hearing of the) story of Viṣṇu is an ornament for the ears ; giving alms is an ornament for the hands ; and

self-respect is an ornament to human beings. Knowledge is an ornament to the best among the ascetics. Devotion to one's own husband is an ornament for a household wife. Gazing at Raṅga is an ornament to the eyes. Bowing down before God is an ornament to the head. The beads of the beautiful Tuls'i are an ornament for the neck; and Thy Name, Oh Raṅga-Viṭhala, is the best adornment." (5)

11. *Self-surrender* : Or, here is a song, wherein Śrīpādarāya surrenders his all-in-all to the Lord. He says :

"Let my head bow down at Thy feet. Oh Hari, let my eyes of knowledge (Vara-chakṣu) gaze at Thy figure. May mine ears hear Thy song and the nose smell the Nirmālya (worn) flowers. May my tongue praise Thy deeds, and both the hands salute Thee. May my feet travel along Thy holy places, and my mind be engrossed in Thy meditation. May my Buddhi play in Thee, and the Chitta begin to dance in Thee. Let me have the union of Thy devotees. Oh Raṅga-Viṭhala ! may I be favoured with Thy kindness." (14)

What a nice idea it is to surrender our all-in-all to the all-pervading Almighty !

V. Lyrics on the deeds of Kṛiṣṇa.

12. Besides this, Śrīpādarāya has produced some of the most beautiful pieces of Lyric poetry on the deeds of Kṛiṣṇa. In fact, his work Bhramara-Gītā may be considered as his best production from this point of view. The idea is akin to the one detailed in the Meghadūta of the Poet-prince Kālidāsa. Here is a portion of it.—The Gōpīs of Nanda-Gōkula are addressing the Bee (Bhramara) which they imagine to have come from Śrī Kṛiṣṇa :

“Oh Bhramara ! having seen thee, we feel as if we have seen our Lord, who is beautiful among the beautiful. Is he more happy there ? We know the Saviour, who is like the Chakōra bird to those (devotees) who love him, since his childhood.

“Oh Bhramara ! We, with intoxicated eyes, having heard the sweet sound of the flute played upon by the enemy of Madhu in the Madhu-kunja forest, forgot all about our abode, and used to flee in the direction of the smell of the Kastūri (musk) applied to the body of Śrī Kriṣṇa, glancing at the Lord of the Cupid. Feeling over-joyous, when we bent our heads looking to the ground below, he used to embrace us with sweet words and feed us with the nectar of his sweet lips. Oh, he, who always used to be with us in our company, has now forsaken us with a cruel heart.” (32)

Such are the master-pieces of Śrīpādarāya's poetry.

5. (c) Vyāsarāya.¹

I. Age of Vyāsarāya.

1. It is a wonderful phenomenon, indeed, that there are definite periods of thought-currents which work

Age of simultaneously in the history of the world.

Vyasaraya. These have got a beginning, development, and decline. In fact, the different periods of the Indus Valley civilization, the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, or of King Aśoka and the Gupta Emperors, or of Śaṅkara and Madhva, or of Vyāsarāya and Ekanātha, have really proved themselves as land-marks in the history of the thought-waves in ancient and medieval India. And, it should be a matter of absorbing interest, indeed, to find out parallels in the history of the other nations in the world, and examine how far these thought-currents have worked simultaneously and effected an altogether a new change in the atmosphere. However, we shall turn our attention to the period of Vyāsarāya.

The age of Vyāsarāya (sixteenth century) was a fruitful age of Reformation and Renaissance in the history of the whole world. Under the cool shelter of the regime of Elizabeth in the West, or under that of Kṛṣṇarāya of Karnāṭak, and other emperors and kings in the East, we find that various poets and playwrights, saints and philosophers flourished, and produced works of wonderful merit in the field of literature. Besides this, we find that a Reformation was taking place in the field of religion also. Not to mention the

1 The Nos. of songs referred to in this chapter are from. :

Sṛīpādarāyara Mattu Vyāsarāyara Kīrtanegalu : Edited by Pavanje Gururao.

work of Martin Luthor in the West, we find that in India, the great Vyāsarāya and Chaitanya, Kabir and Tulsidās, and Vallabha and Ekanātha, effected a great change in the Religious ideas of the time by giving a great prominence to the doctrine of Bhakti.

In Karnāṭak the far-sighted saint Vyāsarāya started a new School of Bhakti called 'Dāsakūṭa', which included some of the most famous personages of the day *i. e.* Purandaradāsa, Vādirāja, Kanakadāsa and Vaikuṇṭhadāsa. This School has done an immense sacrifice in the cause of religion ; and by performing Kirtana or Bhajana or by singing songs of devotion at the doors of others as mendicant singers, the Haridāsas have done a great Service to their motherland.

But the main credit of removing the prejudices of caste and creed should go to Vyāsarāya first. Though himself adorning the pontifical throne of Madhva, he allowed Kanakadāsa in the fold of the Dāsakūṭa, inspite of the great objections raised by the orthodox Brahmins of the day. Ah! enough if one can just imagine the cool shelter of the Vijayanagar Emperors, under which these saints of Karnāṭak sat together, thought, and deliberated upon topics, which are beyond the perview of ordinary intelligence! Further, of an equal interest the scenes should be: the great Vyāsarāya, adorning the pontifical throne of Madhva, and, as the President of the Dāsakūṭa, preaching the main doctrines of Mādhva philosophy, chatting with his disciples without the least idea of caste and creed in the cause of devotion, and performing miracles — these scenes are really meant for a painter, or an architect, or a sculptor. Even then, one cannot remain without a keen suspicion in his mind, whether they also could have equally depicted the spirit behind the same.

However, it should also be a matter of sad remembrance, that with the retirement of this group of Haridāsas, we find the glory of the Vijayanagar Empire also begins to wane. In

fact, just within two years after the death of the great Purandara (1564 A. D.), the battle of Rakkasa-taṅgaḍi (better known as the Battle of Tālikoṭ) takes place. However, the wave of Bhakti again revives in the time of Vijayadāsa as we shall see later on.

II Life-Story.

2. Vyāsarāya, later known also as Chandrikāchārya, was born at Bannur, situated on the banks of the river Kāvēri (Mysore Province), on 22-4-1447 A. D. As Belur Keśavadas has very beautifully put it, 'Vyāsarāya may be said to have been the main cause for the rise and development of the Vijayanagar kingdom.' He was a spiritual adviser to the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, and is also said to have ruled the Vijayanagar kingdom for about twelve years. A version is current that he saved the life of Kṛṣṇarāya from the Kuhuyoga. He was a great patron of learning, and made many grants and endowments to the learned.

Besides this, Vyāsarāya was an eminent Sanskrit Scholar. In fact, his three works Tarka-tāṇḍava, Nyāyāmṛita and Chandrikā, still remain popular in the field of Sanskrit literature. He has also composed a number of devotional songs in Kannaḍa, thus serving the cause of the language of the country in which he lived.

In his boyhood, he was brought up under the careful guidance of Brahmanyatīrtha. Later on, he received initiation at the hands of Śrīpādarāya.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa Chaitanya, or Gaurāṅga of Bengal, is said to have been the disciple of Vyāsarāya. The disciples of Chaitanya count themselves as the followers of Vyāsarāya-Maṭh even to this day.

Vyāsarāya had amongst his disciples some of the famous personages of his day. *e. g.*—Purandaradāsa, Kanakadāsa, Vijayendra-Swāmi, Vādirāja and Vaikuṇṭhadāsa. It should also be noted in this connection, that the main distinction between Dāsarū and Vyāsarū came into vogue in the time of Vyāsarāya.

In one of his songs Vijayadāsa has given a beautiful life-sketch of Vyāsarāya. Further, one Somanāth of Chinglepet Dist. has written a complete biography of Vyāsarāya *e. g.* Vyāsa-Yogi-Charite, in the year 1535 A.D. Vyāsarāya retired from this world in the year 1539 A.D. His Samādhi is situated in the little island, which is surrounded by the river Tungabhadra near Ānegundi (near Hampi).

III. Heart-rendings of Vyāsarāya.

3. In India the two domains of philosophy and mysticism overlap each other, in so far as, the Philosopher is at once the religious reformer of the land also. The particular methods which he adopts for the attainment of the highest goal, as he imagines it to be, indicate his rôle as a religious teacher. Therefore, along with the enunciation of the main tenets of his doctrine, the religious side of the philosopher is also equally important to a student of Indian philosophy. This is much more so in the case of the Haridāsas and other philosopher-saints. They are expected to preach whatever they themselves practise in life. Eventually, while frankly admitting their own defects and heart-rendings, or their woes and sufferings, or even their miseries and disappointments, they have not failed to tell us the ways and methods which they practised for the realization of the highest goal after a complete purification of the mind and the body. Therefore, it is this personalistic element, which happens to be of an absorbing interest in the lives of the Saints. However, we shall turn our attention to the writings of Vyāsarāya in the light of the above remarks.

4. Like Śrīpādarāya, Vyāsarāya also passed through the Dark Night. In fact, after he became conscious of his own defects and the wrongs committed by him in the past, a spirit of repentance seems to have soon overpowered him. He says :

“My body became crumbled, but the desire for money did not become so. My eyes and ears have become feeble, but the longing for woman and land has not vanished. My legs and hands have become powerless, but the craving for worldly pleasures has not faded. My surrounding people are displeased owing to my old age and its diseases, but I do not feel disgusted with such a body. I have committed crores of sins, but have not felt the least repentance for the same. Alas ! life is almost spent up ! I do not know (anything) about the future. But, Oh God, I am Thine from time immemorial. Are not my sorrows Thine own ? Therefore, bless me with devotion (towards Thee) and come to my succour kindly.”
—*Nāmasmarāṇa Sulādi*, p. 81.

5. The poet fully recognises his extreme helplessness and implores God for protection :

“ I was attacked by the devil called Saṁsāra. Oh, the enemy of Kāṁsa, protect me. Just as a sheep, which is being carried for slaughter, grazes the leaves (tied to its neck), so also I became very proud without understanding the awful death approaching me. Just as a moth knowingly falls into the fire, even so, I embrace with full knowledge the most hateful objects. As a wife, having her husband by her side, makes love to others, even so, when Thou art my resort, I am seeking for protection (else-where). As if six tigers pounce on a hair, the Ṣaḍripus are dragging me hither and thither. Just as an elephant throws dust from the ground on its

own temple after a bath, so also have I become ignorant. Oh, Father Kṛiṣṇa, kindly protect me.” (28)

6. *Thou Thyself dost protect me* : Knowing fully well the defects and short-comings, the devotee is unable to find out the means to win over God. The poet remarks that mere bathing, fasting, meditation, embracing Sannyāsa or any other means, without obtaining the grace of God, are of no avail. Therefore, his only request is :

“Thou Thyself dost protect me, Oh Hari ! As for me, I do not find any means for that. If I want to win Thee over by means of bathing, a frog always does it. If I want to win Thee over by meditation, the crane does it always. If I have to win Thee over by counting beads, my mind is not within my power. If I say that fasting alone is the means of securing Thee, a serpent observes it always. If Sannyāsa be a means of realizing Thee, the wicked Rāvaṇa also had become a Sannyāsin. If the offering of a bride is a means of pleasing Thee, then Kaṁsa had offered his daughter to Jarāsandha. If prosperity be called as the means of winning Thee over, then the wicked Duryōdhana also was so full of it. If I want to join Thee by the force of Brotherhood, then I find that Śiśupāla had it.” (8)

7. *There is none equal to Thee* : The poet feels the mighty power of God, and finds that there is none equal to Him. He says :

“Oh God, there is none equal to Thee, and I have no other shelter except Thyself. There is none to give Judgment to Thee or to me. Having resided in the same nest, without being separated even for a moment, I have ever belonged to Thee. (Then) is it proper that Thou shouldst act as a blind man, having handed me over to the sensual pleasures. If I am desirous of others’

wives, Thou may fix up different hells for me. But all this lust for others' wives is of Thy making. Oh, my Lord, I bow down to Thee. Only having been afraid of Thy Universal Lordship, I am to obey Thy commands. It is by thy insinuation only, that I perform all kinds of actions. So, do not count my sins." (10)

8. The poet, being a Mādhva, makes a request before God, that, he in all the future births, be endowed with all the sectarian marks as well as with the knowledge of Mādhva philosophy :

"Bestow upon me this much in my future births. Thou art void of any motive, so favour me (with this much) kindly:—The most prominent Gopī-mark (on the fore-head), the twelve-marks (on my body), the garland of Tulśī in the neck, the Sudarśana mark (on the right shoulder) and the Śaṅkha (mark) on the left. Bestow upon me such a Vaiṣṇava life of manifestations and rejoicings. Give me the holy understanding in every birth—that the world which is perceived consists of gradations, that the five main Distinctions (Pancha-Bhedas) are real, and that Rudra and other deities have taken shelter at Thy feet eternally. (Let me have) love for all the learned and the best of men; and (let me possess) the idea of the Chief—Preceptorship in Sukha-Tīrtha (Madhvāchārya). Oh Śrī-Kṛiṣṇa, the Bestower of Salvation, favour me with the nine kinds of devotion, void of impurities." (12)

IV. S'ri-Hari is the All-in-all.

9. As Dr. J. N. Dasgupta, in his work 'Hindu Mysticism', has beautifully put it,² "...in the new school of Bhakti the conception of God as creator, supporter, lord and master, or as the ultimate philosophical principle, is subordinated to the

² J. N. Dasgupta : Hindu Mysticism, pp. 141-142.

conception of God as the nearest and the dearest... (In fact) He may be the greatest, highest, loftiest and the most transcendent, but yet He has made His home in our hearts and has come down to our level to give us His affection and love." Thus, it is this idea of 'the nearest and the dearest' that makes the poet think that Śrī Hari is the all-in-all in the Universe. Vyāsārāya gives a beautiful description of Hari :

"Mother is Śrī Hari to this world, because, it is He who has created this world from within His body in the beginning. Father is Śrī Hari to this world, because He begot Brahmā and others. Master is Śrī Hari to this world, because He is protecting it by His Rāma and other forms. Lord is Śrī Hari to this world, because, He gave knowledge through Vyāsa and others. The highest Truth (Para-tatva) is Śrī Hari, because, He is the only one that bestows the highest Bliss. The *summum bonum* of life is Śrī Hari, because, He bestows blessings upon those that remember Him. Everything is Śrī Hari to this world, because, He is all-pervading. Kṛiṣṇa alone is the all-pervading power." (Upāsanā-Suḷādi).

V. Worship of the Inner-dwelling God.

10. Here is a beautiful description of the combination of the doctrine of Dualism and the Mystic character of the Saint. The poet worships the inner-dwelling God by surrendering every limb of his body or every action in his life to Him :

"I am worshipping my inner-dwelling image of God with whole-heartedness everyday. My body is His temple. My heart is His *Maṇḍapa*. My eyes are the big lights, and the hands are the *Chouries*. My pilgrimage is the act of circambulation. The act of sleeping is prostration (before Him). The talks of praise are His *mantras*. All the words I utter are the flowers. All my walks are dances (before Him). All my raiments

are different kinds of clothings (for Him). The ornaments I wear are the ornaments for Śrī Hari. The Śrī-gandha paste applied to my body is the scented paste for His body. The flowers worn on my head form the garland (for Him). Our permanent friendship is His Buddhi. The food taken in remembrance of Him is his Naivedya (offering). The reflected form is His looking-glass. The five functions of mind are His Kingdom. My utterance of the Name of Hari is the holy pond. In this temple-innermost is His throne. (Such being the case) why should any other means be resorted to? Why is any other image required? Why any recitations and actions needed? When all the means are full in me, I can worship Śrī Kṛṣṇa completely." (11)

VI. Importance of Name.

11. Like all the mystics of the world Vyāsarāya reveals the importance of the Name of God. He says :

"So, when there is the union of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, why should there be the misfortunes or any dread of hell? What, if the servants of Yama are fierce? What, if the mode of punishment of Yama be very severe? What, if the torture of Hell be extreme? Is there any fear to the servants of God? The servants of Yama flee away at the order of their ruler-in-chief. He, whose mind refuses to remember Achyuta, whose head does not bow down before the punisher of Bali, whose tongue does not utter the name of the Lord of Laxmi, such a wretched soul goes to hell. The devotees of Kṛṣṇa go to Vaikuṇṭha. Let that be with mocking, or let that be with pride — when standing or studying, or when touching, or at any other time, if one invokes 'Śrī Kṛṣṇa' successively—that becomes the sound of the drum at the time of the marriage with Salvation. To those, who

remember Thy name always—give them the more at the time of their death, Oh Śrī Kṛṣṇa ! ” (81)

VII. An Ideal Bhakta.

12. As we have remarked else-where, the Haridāsas have always tried to deliniate their own ideas regarding the qualifications of an Ideal sage. Here is a psalm wherein Vyāsarāya gives a beautiful description of an Ideal Bhakta :

“ When one is born as a man, there ought to be the name of Hari on his tongue. He should be kind to all and wipe off all sins. He should utter the name of Hari for every word. He should have calmness (of mind); should have love towards the holy path ; and should forsake lust and anger. He should forsake egoism as also the affection for kith and kin. He should be in the company of the gentle ; should read the Vedas and Śāstras, and should understand the tenets of philosophy. He should unceasingly remember Madhva ; should obtain the favour of Father Kṛṣṇa ; should be satisfied with whatever he gets ; and should live in the world with contentment. ” (3)

13. Besides this, Vyāsarāya has dealt with various topics *i.e.* females, general words of wisdom, spirit of humiliation, and others. But we need not go into the detail, especially in view of the fact, that we have given a survey of his main Teachings.

5. (d) Purandaradāsa.¹

'I fear not fire nor prison nor do I fear for my body. I fear not snake nor scorpion nor the edge of the sword; one thing only I fear, one I dread within; other's money, other's woman—these two I fear; I remember Kaurava and Rāvana and what happened to them and pray Save me from Evil, Purandara Viḥhala.²

—*Purandaradāsa*.

I. Purandaradāsa's Life and Personality.

1. Purandaradāsa was born at Purandaragaḍ (Poona Dist.) in the year Ś. 1406 or 1484 A. D., by Life-story of the worthy father Varadappā, a wealthy Purandara- merchant, and mother Lakṣmakkā. He was dasa. formerly called by the name Śrinivāsa Naik. Śrinivāsa married a meritorious girl called Sarasvati-Ammā; and he had four sons by her *i.e.* Varadappā, Gurappā, Abhinavappā and Madhvapati. All of them joined the Dāsakūṭa.

An interesting story is related how *the saraf* Purandaradāsa was initiated into the Bhakti-sāmpradāya. Once upon a time, Pāṇḍuraṅga, in the form of an old Brahmin, is said to have visited the house of Purandaradāsa in his absence: then, his wife is described to have offered her nose-ring as alms for the marriage of the old man's son. Pāṇḍuraṅga eventually went to the shop of Purandaradāsa to sell it away. But, Purandara disposed off the Brahmin, and suspecting that it was his

1 The numbers of songs referred to in this Chapter are from Purandaradāsara Kirtanegalu, Parts I-V: Edited by Pāvanje Gururao, Śrī Kriṣṇa Press, Udipi.

2 *cf.* Masti Venkatesha Ayengar: Popular Culture in Kārṇāṭak p. 68.

wife's came home and asked her in connection with her nose-ring. His wife, knowing fully well the Shylockian tendency of her husband, went in, and through fear of her husband, was on the point of taking poison; but, to her surprise, she found that the nose-ring fell down into the cup from above. She took the nose-ring and handed it over to Purandara. Purandara feeling very much surprised, went to the shop to see whether the nose-ring was in tact, but found that it was not there. Then, he came home and asked his wife about the whole affair. When, however, Purandara came to know about the truth, his mind immediately turned to the path of devotion. Soon after, Purandara renounced all the worldly wealth and pleasures and became ultimately a Dāsa.

Purandaradāsa was one of the first and foremost disciples of Vyāsarāya: He had won the admiration of his preceptor, which can be seen from one of the songs composed by Vyāsarāya: "Oh, if there be any Dāsa, it is Purandaradāsa." His *nom-de-plume* is Purandara Viṭhala. He received it from his preceptor Vyāsarāya in the year 1525 A.D.

Purandara is said to have composed 4,75,000 songs. Further, he has written other original works *i.e.* Draupadi-Vastrāharaṇa, Sudāmacharitra, and Paratatvasāra, which still remain unpublished. The great Kumāra Vyāsa is described to have once showed the manuscript copy of his Kannaḍa Bhārata to him; and that Purandara was very much pleased with the same.

Purandaradāsa greatly remodelled the system of Kīrtana. He was also well-versed in the art of music. He is said to have produced the Pillari-Gīte (collection of musical exercises for young children.) Further, like his contemporary Kanaka, he was a religious reformer also, in so far as, he made no distinction in caste in the cause of devotion. Further, it is said that the poet Tyāgarāja of the Āndhra

country was an admirer of Purandara and received inspiration from Purandara (in a dream) for composing songs.

Purandaradāsa travelled through the whole of India, and visited all the holy places. In his old age, he came and settled at Hampi under the shelter of the Emperors of Vijayanagar. He retired from this world in the year 1564 A. D.

2. Purandaradāsa was one of the foremost Devotional Saints of Karnāṭak. Like his contemporary **A Poet and Philosopher.** Ekanātha of Mahārāṣṭra, he was also a poet of varied genius. Like Ekanātha in Mahārāṣṭra, he deserves the credit of first laying down the foundation of the school of devotion on a broader basis in Karnāṭak. In fact, apart from the simplicity and lucidity of style, his songs directly convey the main principles of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, as interpreted in the light of Mādhvism. Add to this, like Tukārāma, the personalistic element is so vivid in his works that one feels as if he moves with us, and talks with us about problems belonging to a higher sphere of Mysticism.

The points of similarity between the lives of Tukārāma, the Advaitic saint of Mahārāṣṭra, and Purandara are many. Both of them were well-to-do in the beginning of their career. Both had become extremely poor (though this poverty was self-called in the case of Purandara) in the first stage of their Saint-hood. Both the Saints passed through the 'Dark Night' and ultimately enjoyed the vision of God-head. Like Tukārāma, Purandara also was a devotee of Viṭhala, and has composed many songs on God Pāṇḍurāṅga.

Mr. Masti Venkatesha Ayengar, an eminent scholar in Kannaḍa, has beautifully expressed his opinion regarding the works of Purandara. He says that, "They (the songs) indicate a mind familiar with the world and its ways and

inclined as much to see without as within. Wide knowledge, deep experience, and a great love of humanity are visible in them. Their range is great.”¹ However, we shall now turn our attention to his main Teachings.

II. Dark Night of the Soul.

3. It is one of the rare instances in history that a millionaire turns himself into a mendicant—philosopher of a very high order. As we have seen above, Purandaradāsa disowned all the wealth and property and became an eager devotee of God. This sudden change in his life makes him conscious of his own sins committed in the past. He prays God :

“Enough of so many sins committed by me till now. Oh, the creator of the Universe, lift me up ! I tortured others to fill in my belly, and deprived the people of their dues by not paying them. Having given my ears to the ill-advice of my wife, I actually became enemy towards my brothers and mother. I spoiled myself having disregarded bathing, recitation and oblations, and left off the path of knowledge long before. What shall I say (more) ? I fixed my mind upon others’ wives and filled my belly like dogs and hogs. I did not perform even for a day the austerities and observed fastings. I did not give any alms ; did not offer food to guests ; did not hear the Purāṇas, Śrūtis, and the stories of God ; and thus the whole life was spent uselessly.” (III 46).

4, *The Devotee has no voice to request God* : Purandara admits that he has no voice to request God for mercy, as he possesses so many sins within himself. He says :

“I have no voice for requesting Thee, as I (possess) innumerable sins within myself, through the allurements

¹ Popular Culture in Karnataka, p. 74.

of children, wife, parents and attractive brothers, king, beasts, land, relatives and others. Oh ! fie upon me ; I forgot Thee, the enemy of the wicked, by the force of pride and food-stuffs, wealth, all varieties of riches, and the pride of youth, beauty and other environments, the power of the lording over nations, and by the pride that there is none to stand before me. If I get something, I crave for more. Even if I get that, the craving for more is not lost. I wish that there should be no misery ; and wish for immense pleasure. I have the love for the life, Oh, Purandara Viṭhala. ” (II, 153).

5. *Devotee tired of watching others' doors* : It is the chief characteristic in the life of a mystic, that he becomes tired and disgusted with the behaviour of other human beings. Purandara expresses the idea :

“ Oh Kṛiṣṇa, I cannot watch the doors of whom-so-ever I see, just like a dog, by teasing them. Having got up early in the morning and forsaken the daily rites, without performing the service of God and without worshipping Thee before, I enter the houses of ordinary human beings, and having served them—I cannot watch (their doors). —Even stone may be melted or oil be squeezed out of the parched beans, but I cannot please the mind of those in power. By twisting the mouth or hissing the teeth by so many anxieties —without remembering Thee, I, having been caught in the big net of illusion, cannot watch their doors. I cannot see any other way ; and Thou dost not see even this much. So, Oh Purandara Viṭhala, remove this anxiety.” (II, 167).

6. *Evanescent nature of body, land and woman* : The devotee feels miserable at the very idea that this body is impermanent, and that nothing in this world *i. e.* land, wealth, wife and relatives, would follow him in his journey after death. He utters :

“Oh God, Thou shouldst protect me then. It is immaterial, whether Thou protectest me now or not. I have brothers and sons, and a big hoard of money, gold and valuables, and a storied house. A son is newly born to me. But, when I become speechless, I do not see any body accompanying me finally. There are many relatives, friends and others also; I have got a wife actually wedded; but I do not see anybody accompanying me. When I am ailing on account of bile, cough or gases, Oh Indires'a! at such a moment, Thy Name alone shall protect me. Therefore, Purandara Viṭhala, come and protect me.” (III, 2).

7. *Advice to mind* : Like the great poet Rāmadāsa in Mahārāṣṭra, it is one of the main characteristics of the Haridāsas of Karnāṭak to compose songs, which contain an advice to the mind. A mystic does not possess merely a blind faith for God. His vision is clear. And he always makes conscious efforts to attain salvation. In doing so, he always tries to bring his mind under control. Here is a psalm of Purandara wherein he advises his mind not to have any allurements for this body :

“Oh mind ! why should you have allurements for this body ? Be happy having remembered Vāsudeva. The teeth have become shaky and the seven ingredients of this body are dried up. The female-folk becomes disgusted having perceived me. So, where is the charm for this worn-out body ? So think, Oh mind, and remember Śrīkānta ! The feet are trembling, the eyes have become dim, and (my) youth having passed now, old age hath approached. And, at this time of the completion of age and action, Oh mind ! why should have the desire of boyhood ? This body is transitory as the bubble on the surface of water. So, do not be enamoured of land, wealth and wife. Join Śrī Purandara Viṭhala. Oh mind, dost thou not keep quiet ?” (III, 18).

8. *Make me believe in Thee* : The Mystic Purandara has made the best of his efforts to turn his attention towards God. But according to him, it is also within the power of God alone to make the devotee believe in Him. The poet makes a request :

“ Make me believe in Thee. If I am enamoured make me a beggar. If I beg, make others not to give me anything. If others offer me food, make (me) half-starved. If the belly is filled up, make (me) as not to get sufficient clothing. If Clothing is obtained, make me as not to get sufficient place to live. If a sufficient place is not obtained, Oh Rāṅga, give (me) an abode at Thy feet.” (V, p. 106, 62).

Such a sublime song could be written only by a God-realizer indeed !

9. *Full reliance on God* : The poet cannot overcome the weakness inherent in him, and, therefore, he fully relies on God for further protection. He says :

“ Oh God ! I have fully relied on Thee. So, Thou dost protect me without looking to my defects. My expectation reaches even the world of Brahmā, and my mind rests in my wife unceasingly. I have not remembered God even once. So, protect having removed these miseries. Protect me, Oh Lord ! by bestowing devotion (Bhakti). I spent my life this way ignorantly without being afraid of Thee. Protect me kindly, as a mother protects her young child.” (III, 215).

Nārāyaṇa alone is the protector : Further the poet says :

“ Oh Nārāyaṇa, do not forsake me even if the whole world were to forsake ; because, I cannot see any other protector hereafter.” (II, 119),

10. *Whether God shall show mercy* : A mystic's life is full of joys and fears, and miseries and uncertainties. Though having

full faith in God, a mystic even begins to think whether God shall remain true to Himself by showing mercy towards his devotees. Purandara raises the suspicion when he says :

“ Why shouldst Thou be called merciful? Oh ! I have no confidence (in Thee) ; because, Thou art giving pain to my mind by turning me round and round having given me these human births. It is said that, it is Thou, who hast protected Kari, Dharma, Bali, Pāṇchālī (Draupadi), and Ahalyā in this world. But after full deliberation and thought, it seems as if they are all fables. —If Thou art really merciful, protect me now by lifting my hands. Oh ! the Lotus-eyed God ! If Thou art my real Lord, should these miseries tease me ? Thou didst favour Ajāmiḥa at the time of his death with the Title of Garuḍadhwaḡa. So, if Thou dost desire to maintain these attributes, come quickly to protect me ” (II, 73).

11. *Oath to God and Devotee* : Here is a beautiful song in which the devotee tries to come to a compromise with God :

“ Oh Kriṣṇa, let there be an oath to Thee and an oath to me ; and let us both have the oath of your devotees. If I do not utter Thy name, let the oath be to me ; and if Thou dost not protect me, let it be to Thee. If I meditate upon others' name leaving Thine, let the oath be to me ; if Thou dost forsake my hands, let it be to Thee. If I deceive Thee by my mind, body and wealth, let the oath be to me ; and if Thou dost not fix my mind in Thee let it be to Thee. If I associate with the wicked let it be to me ; if Thou dost not make me free from this worldly affection, let it be to Thee. If I do not make friendship with the virtuous let it be to Thee ; and if Thou dost not dissociate me from the wicked, let it be to Thee. If I do not resort to Thee let it be to me ; if Thou dost not protect me, Oh Purandara Viṭhala, let it be to Thee.” (II, 144).

12. *Forgive me, Oh Lord!* The poet implores God to do this much :

“Enough of the past. At least, in future, bestow upon me the friendship of Thy devotees. Oh, protect me, having forgiven me. I do not see anybody (else) who could show me hospitality.” (II, 129).

13. *Complete satisfaction* : After so many disappointments in his career, Purandara at last achieves the goal in life. The following song conveys the *supreme state* that can be attained in a mystic's life-time. The poet, in his moments of rapturous self-surrender, expresses :

“Oh, the friendship of the Haridāsas was obtained, what else is required !—The advice of the preceptor was completely acquired by me, what else is required ?—The deep affection of self and the allurements of the illusory Saṁsāra were crushed down, what else is required ?—The Name of the lotus-eyed God came to my tongue, what else is required ? — The quest of searching after several Gods is vanished, what else is required ?—The meditation of God has taken shelter in my heart, what else is required ?—When the protector of King Muchukunda became my father and mother, what else is required ?—Mukunda has favoured me without doubt, what else is required ?—How can I express the degree of pleasure ? It is all the gift of the mighty son of Nanda Gopa, what else is required ? My fore-fathers were sanctified, what else is required ? Purandara Viṭhala, dwelling in my heart, is obtained, what else is required ? ” (II, 71).

It should be noted in this connection, that the idea of God as a ‘father and mother’ is prevailing in this psalm. Unlike Chaitanya, we find in Purandara, a devotee, who treats God with respect and reverence, and even after the achievement of the goal in life, we see him still standing at a distance and

not as one who possesses a relationship of husband and wife. However, we shall deal with this problem later on.

III. Nature of God.

14. According to the Mādhva philosophy, "God possesses an infinite number of qualities. His chief functions are eight: creation, protection, dissolution, controlling all things, giving knowledge, manifestation of Himself, involving the individual souls in the knowledge of the world, and deliverance. His form is made up of knowledge and joy. He is independent of everything and remains one in the midst of different forms." Further, as between Īs'vara, Jīvas, and the World, the doctrine of Five Distinctions (Pancha-bheda) also is propounded. Purandaradāsa, having explained the nature of God and the difference between Īs'vara, Jīvas, and the world, says that, " there is difference between those who have attained salvation and those who have not. There is difference in Saṁsāra." Further, according to Purandara, the will of Lord alone is the Truth and the will of man is not fulfilled in the least (IV, 108). In another connection, he describes the omnipotent and omnipresent characteristics of God. He says:

" Oh, the Lotus-eyed ! Thou art the power of every planet. Thou art omnipotent and Thou art the protector of the whole Universe. Thou art the Sun, the Moon, the Mars, the Rāhū and Kētu, and the learned Jupiter. Thou art the Saturn and Mercury. Thou art Day and Night. Thou art the destroyer of Saṁsāra and the curer of the same. Thou art the Solar and the Lunar halves. Thou art the holy time (Puṇya-Kāla). Thou art the galaxy of Stars ! "

Or again, Purandaradāsa tries to describe the nature of God :

1 V. S. Ghate : The Vedānta, p. 33.

“ Thus is God. So is God. Let me tell you how He is. He has no feet but makes all move ; He has no hands but makes all hold ; he has no teeth but makes all chew ; He has no stomach but makes all eat ; He has no ears but makes all hear ; unseen, He pervades within, without. From Him comes all. He is all that men have thought He is.”¹

15. In one of his songs Purandara describes that God alone is the protector of the whole world. He says :

“ Oh man, why do you think, and why should you have this illusion ? —Does the hen protect its young ones by giving her breast-milk ? There is a midwife when women give birth to children but who protects the wild beasts while they are giving birth to their young ones ? When the mother, that has given birth, dies, they say that they are undone ; but does the mother of a Gunguri bee protect the young one though lying nearby ? Does not God place the child in the womb, having made it out of this hard earth ; and if such God, who has given it, takes the same away, why should you weep beating your breast ? There is a position in the next world and happiness in this world, to one who remembers Guru Purandara Viṭhala.” (I, 68).

Purandara describes all the ten Avatāras, and further opines that salvation is attainable with the grace of the Over-Lord alone.

IV. Rebirth and Karma.

16. All the systems of Indian philosophy have accepted the principle of Rebirth and Karma. In fact, the Law of the Seed and Tree is so popularly upheld by all the philosopher-saints in India. The doctrine of Rebirth and Karma has given an optimistic coloring to the whole of Indian philosophy.

1. cf, Popular Culture in Karn

p. 69.

Otherwise, all the joys and sorrows, miseries and uncertainties in life, would have been placed at the doors of the All-pervading Almighty. Further a certain partiality and cruelty also would have been attributed to Him, in so far as we see, that all creatures in this world do not stand on a status of equality. Eventually, the doctrine of Rebirth and Karma actually cuts at the root of the problem, and creates optimism in a religious mind. In fact, if we are to admit the Supremacy of the Almighty, this should have been the only logical solution arising out of it.

Therefore, according to Purandara, one must suffer for what he has done in the past. Nobody can do anything. He says :

“ Who can do anything, and what can be done by anybody ? The actions committed in previous births would not leave us.

“(In the case of) the young lad (Dhruva) of five years, to him, what was that forest and what was that penance ? But, when the step-mother, having abused, thrust him away to the forest, and when he started burning with anger, what did his father, who was sitting nearby, do ?

“ When the wicked Duhśāsana, having uncovered the wearing garment of Draupadi, was dishonouring her, and when the lady ardently prayed Śrīpati for succour, what were her five husbands doing ?

“ When Abhimanyu, who, having entered the Chakravyūha and fought very bravely with the best six warriors, was leaving his life without any doubt, what did Pārtha, the friend of Mādhava, do ?

“ When Sītā was carried away stealthily by the wicked Rāvaṇa, what did Śrī Rāma, the most powerful and the best among the emperors, and Laxmaṇa, possessed of immense prowess, do ?

“ Who could live having transgressed the ordainment of Purandara Viṭhala, the Lord of the Universe ? ” (I, 78)

V. Samsāra.

17. The great philosopher Kant is right when he, while refuting the optimism of Leibnitz, asks : “ would any man of sound understanding, who has lived long enough and has meditated on the worth of human existence, care to go through life’s poor play, I do not say on the same conditions, but on any conditions whatever ? ”¹ In fact every mystic-philosopher, being disgusted with the evanescent and painful nature of Samsāra, tries to rise above it, and going a step further places all his experiences before us. The great Purandara also feels miserable at the very idea that the body itself, along with wife, children and wealth, are to vanish one day. In one of his songs he depicts the evanescent nature of the Samsāra :

“ What is this struggle (for) ? You are to go one day quickly. What did you bring when you came here ? But, as soon as you were born, you said that everything is yours. When the wealth hoarded by you vanishes (completely), you begin to groan with a weeping face. Having built a big house, you place your wife there ; and when a child is born to her — you fix all your mind in that. This Samsāra is very wicked and you have fallen in it with your legs tied up ” (II, 54). Or again, the poet asks : “ Oh man, why are you (so much) enamoured of this body ? It expands, decreases, tumbles and falls, and eventually turns (itself) into ash having fallen in fire. This body, which is formed by the union of husband and wife, is one, which enjoys all the pleasures, but, it falls to the ground when attacked by diseases. It is a body, which having served others,

1. S. Radhakrishnan ; History of Indian Philosophy. p. 364.

has become an object of hell. It is one, which oozes out dirt from its nine holes, and smells awfully if not washed. And this is a body, which does not bow down at the lotus-feet of Purandara Viṭhala through arrogance." (I, 122)

Besides this, we find this life to be full of anxieties, cares and worries. The poet says :

"There is anxiety in this life at all times, till the mind is enamoured of Śrī-Raṅga. Anxiety there is, though there is wife ; it is also there, if there is no wife. Anxiety there is, if there are no sons ; it is there even if there are sons. Anxiety there is of hoarding immense coins. Anxiety there is of protecting the herd of cows through affection. Anxiety there is also of not leaving the affection towards them. Anxiety there is if one becomes poor ; it is there even if he becomes rich." (I. 45)

VI. Ethics.

"Birth as a human being is a great opportunity Do not misuse it. Oh Silly, Oh foolish ones. Garner merit before the raid, Be not caught in the whirl of false living."

— *Purandaradāsa*.¹

18. It is a fact which cannot be denied that the Hindu religion owes so much to Buddhism. The early system of Buddha was itself a product of the religious ideas of the time. The introduction of the idea of the Eightfold path, as well as the foundation of the Buddhist Saṅgha can be considered as the great assets of Buddhism. And the Hindus assimilated both these into their own religious system later on. Because, it was in the later stages of the Upaniṣadic period, that we find, that the addition of Sannyāsa (in the four stages of life) takes place. Further, the eightfold path *e. g.* right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right mode of livelihood

¹ Popular Culture in Karn ṭak, p. 71.

right effort, right mindedness and right rapture, was introduced in the Hindu religion in the period of the Gītā. The Hindu Brahmins did not fail to make their organization of the Chāturvarṇya also more strong so as to face the strong organization of the Buddhist Saṅgha. However, it was in this time that a firm foundation of Ethics was laid down. And practically no change takes place in the same after this period. In fact, all the three—Jnyāna, Bhakti and Karma Mārga respectively, are recognized as a means for the attainment of salvation, by all the philosophers and saints, who flourished in the subsequent centuries.

The great Purandara has dealt with all the three ways *e.g.* Bhakti, Jnyāna and Karma. About the Jnyāna Mārga he says :

Knowledge alone is enough :

Knowledge alone is enough for attaining salvation. What else is required, Oh ignorant ! Do not forsake your parents, wife and children. Do not wander in the forest having become an anchorite. Do not exert yourself by observing austerities. Do not exert yourself by practising meditation and penance. Do not jump here and there like a monkey.” (V, 40).

But, according to him, ‘ knowledge which does not improve life, is worthless. Again, the show of orthodoxy and ceremonial purity, is useless.’ Purandara, however, lays great stress on the doctrine of Bhakti as we shall presently see in the following pages.

19. Code of Morality : According to Purandara salvation cannot be obtained without efforts. But, in what direction should the efforts be made ? The poet says :

“ Is salvation obtainable without any effort ? Is devotion obtainable without uttering the Name of God ? There ought to be resoluteness of mind. One should

forsake the company of the wicked ; should leave off suspicions ; and should offer the mind to Hari. One should relinquish desire and anger ; should praise the name of Hari ; should leave off the desire for gold ; should have implicit faith in God ; and should be aloof from dullness of mind. One should shun the company of the relatives ; should feel pleased when resented ; and should forbear in moments of wrath. One should say that Hari is the Supreme Preceptor ; should refuse other things ; and should think that this body is transitory. One should forsake other actions ; should rely on Purandara Viṭhala ; should be free from sins ; and should roam about in the light of Knowledge." (V, 16).

20. *How should one live in Saṁsāra* : In one of his sublime songs Purandara, like his contemporary Ekanātha, has stated how one should live in Saṁsāra. He says :

" One should live in the Saṁsāra as ordained by his previous Karma. A bird came and sat in the open space and flew away. The playing kiddies built a house, and afterwards destroyed it, saying that the play was over. The bazar collected itself by so many, and all of them were back again their own ways. A traveller came to reside in a place at night, and at day-break went towards his village. Oh Purandara, Viṭhala, protect me by destroying this illusion of Saṁsāra." (V. 119, p. 118).

21. *Importance of Name* : Purandara lays a great stress on the efficacy of Name. He relates in so many of his songs how the various devotees in the past attained salvation by uttering the Name of God. In one of his songs he says :

" Oh people, utter the Name of Nārāyaṇa. Do you not know that by saying Nārāyaṇa Ajāmila attained salavation ? Why should you go to Benaras ? Why

should you come a long way with the trouble of carrying the jars of the holy water of the Ganges? If you utter the Name of Vāsudeva at every step, there will be absolutely no miseries. There will be no fear of thieves nor any fear of anybody. There will be no fear of the ruling king. And as this removes all the sins, why should one bathe and why should one meditate in silence? If one constantly remembers the Protector of the meek — is there anything equal to this meditation? Oh Purandara Viṭhala! ” (II. 132)

22. *Non-recognition of Caste* : Like his contemporary the great Kanaka, the main importance in the teachings of Purandara lies in the non-recognition of caste in the cause of liberation. He says :

“ What if, of any caste? Let him be anybody, if he has realized the existence of God inside. If a sugar-cane is bent, is its juice also bent? ”

Again, in one of his songs he has beautifully expressed that, caste is not a mere matter of birth but of character.

23. *Salvation* : Purandara recognizes all the four kinds of Mukti. In one of his Ugābhogas he says :

“ The deities, having been born in Gokula, obtained salvation—some having been born as cows obtained the Sāmīpya salvation. The masters of the chief elements of senses, having mixed and played with Thee, obtained Sārūpya salvation. Some secured Sāyujya salvation through each of the organs of sense. And Thou didst protect the Four — faced (Brahmā) by bestowing Sāyujya Salvation in Thy whole body. Thou art an unparalleled abode of virtues, O Purandara Viṭhala.”
(V, 142)

24. *Yoga as a means of attainment*: In one of his most beautiful songs Purandara lays stress on the Yoga-mārga, He says :

“ Oh man, look at Śrī-Hari, the Lord of the Universe, through your eyes inside. You should purify the six lotuses in six places, and having conquered the three desires (Īṣaṇa-traya), rise up to Suṣumnā; and having cut off there the curtain, join the Para-Brahman. Look up without twinkling your eyes and at the same time, stop breathing having enclosed air within your body. (Further) enjoy the sound produced inside, and dance with nine kinds of devotion before Nārāyaṇa, who is in the Sun, and who is playing in the Universe. He is at the top of the Kuṇḍalīnī, and He is Śrī-Purandara Viṭhala, who protects.” (III, 31)

25. *Allegory of Food* : Purandaradāsa has composed many songs containing spiritual allegories. Here is an allegory, in which he asks us to prepare and make exertion in the direction of Mokṣa :

“ Oh man, tie up food. If you take it (with you), you may (be able to) eat (it) anywhere you please on the way. In a pot called Dharma, fill in the water of the Ganges called pure mind. Having kindled fire called good mind (Sumana), having baked rice called steady mind, having spread cloth called knowledge, and with extreme dispassionateness (Virakti) offer it to Śrī Hari. Be satisfied by eating daily the food called the Highest Truth of the creator Purandara Viṭhala, having possessed it by your side.” (I, 128).

26. Besides this, Purandaradāsa has advised the people not to mind honour and dishonour. He asks them not to become too arrogant or proud. He has also dealt with the main principles of Yoga in one of his songs. But, he is a full

believer in the doctrine of Devotion. Again, in many of his songs he has asked the people not to follow the Advaita philosophy. In his opinion, the idea that 'I am His servant' alone would lead us to salvation. Unfortunately, we are not still in a position to give a succinct account of his teachings, as his main works still remain unpublished. However, we cannot finish this brief survey, without quoting the song composed by Purandara on the last day of his retirement.¹ He says :

“To-day is the most auspicious one ; this week is auspicious ; to-day's constellation (Nakṣatra) is auspicious ; to-day's happening is auspicious ; and the day, on which the Name of Purandara Viṭhala is sung, is most auspicious.” (V, 143)

1 “ In one of the songs of Vijayadāsa, Purandaradāsa is said to have lived exactly for seventy two years and twenty-one days. The exact dates of the birth and of the day of the retirement of Purandara are still belonging to the domain of controversy. However, we are not in a position to go into the detail at present. (*cf.* ‘Karnāṭak Kavicharite’ Vol. II, ‘Kanarese Literature’ p. 80, and *Karnāṭak Bhakta-Vijaya*, Vol. I, p. 241 in this connection.) ”

5. (e) Kanakadāsa.¹

I. Life-story.

1. Kanakadāsa, a shepherd by caste (or of a hunter (Beḍa) caste according to some), was born at Life-story of Bāḍa in the District of Dharwar. His father's Kanakadasa. name is Bīrappā and mother's Bachchammā.

He was originally a Daṇṇāyaka (Daṇḍanāyaka) a hereditary post in his family. It is said that God Channa-keśava always used to appear in his dreams and ask him to become a Dāsa; but, Kanaka persistently refused to do so. Later, as Mr. Belur Keshavadās has rightly remarked, 'Kanaka seems to have received a terrible defeat in a battle; after which, he directed his attention towards the path of Devotion.' This seems to be specifically clear from one of his songs :

“Oh Hari ! having relieved me of the burden of the environments of great soldiers, marching towards the battle-field with the armour, and the (consequent) announcement by means of drumming etc.,—Thou didst pick up the pearl having dissociated it from water. So, I joined Thine feet ” (I. 83).

Kanakadāsa was very much disliked by the orthodox Brahmins. However, in spite of this, the great Vyāsarāya, the religious preceptor of Purandaradāsa, offered him the holy water (Tīrtha), and thus accepted Kanaka into the fold of the Dāsakūṭa. His *nom-de-plume* is either Bāḍada Ādikeśava or Kāginele Ādikeśava.

¹ The numbers of songs referred in this Chapter to are from: Kanakadāsara Kīrtanegalu : Edited by Pavanje Gururao, S'ri-Kṛṣṇa Press, Udupi.

Mr. Katti Sheshacharya is of opinion that Kanaka belonged to the school of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism.¹ He has also culled out passages from the works of Kanaka in support of his argument. He further says, that Kanaka in his later years seems to show an inclination towards Mādhvism. But, in our opinion, in his earlier years Kanaka seems to have possessed a deep reverence towards the doctrine of Rāmānuja. But after he received the holy water (Tīrtha) from Vyāsarāya (1525 A.D.) he definitely became a staunch follower of the Mādhva doctrine. There are also so many songs composed by Kanakadāsa which corroborate our statement (*cf.* I. Vs. 12, 104 etc.). We make this statement, however, with one reservation: that Kanaka is a reformist *par excellence*, in so far as he has not composed any song on the Tāratamya. In fact, he is more of a Mādhva Mystic rather than a Mādhva Dualist. He always moves in a higher sphere, and thinks of none else except Hari—the supreme Lord of the Universe. In support of our argument, that Kanaka was a follower of the Mādhva doctrine, there is also a tradition current for the last four centuries, which has not ousted him still from the fold of the Dāsakūṭa, an institution reared by the greatest of the Mādhva saints and philosophers.

Kanaka was an eminent writer in Kannaḍa. Besides the many 'Devotional Songs,' along with the spiritual allegories (Mundāgis), he has also written the following works:

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (1) Narasimha Stotra; | (3) Rāmādhyāna Mantra; |
| (2) Mohanatarāṅgiṇi; | (4) Haribhaktisāra; |

and (5) Naḷa-charitre.

Further, a story is current that Kanakadāsa was not allowed to enter the temple of Kṛiṣṇa at Uḍupi. Kanaka, however, went behind the temple and stood there praying God. God Kṛiṣṇa also is said to have turned around and

¹ *cf.* Katti Sheshacharya: Kavi Kanakadāsaru, pp. 127-32.

stood facing Kanaka. This scene can be seen even to this day. There is a little window through which people take the Darshan of God Kṛiṣṇa. It still goes by the name *Kanakana khinḍi*. Kanaka is said to have lived for about ninety-one years.

II. Personalistic Element and Dark Night.

2. Whether Kanakadāsa deals with the subject of the darker aspects of Samsāra, or with that of the higher problems of metaphysics, he seems to possess the same intellectual power and clarity of thought everywhere. It is this characteristic alone that has created for him a supreme position, which he has been enjoying for the last four centuries.

As we have observed above, the incident on the battlefield created a sudden turn in his mind towards the path of devotion. Henceforth, Kanaka remained engrossed in the meditation of Śrī Hari; and he was not willing to accept the supremacy of any one but Hari, the Almighty. In his earlier years, he seems to have become tired of the service of other men, and the remembrance of God alone would give him the mental solace. He says :

3. *Enough with the service of other men :*

“Enough with the service of other men; I am completely tired. Having gone early in the morning, and acted according to the wishes of others, and having served them like a servant everyday in their service, I return home without getting anything *in lieu* for the same. I wandered in all directions on account of this belly. Further, having brought money, I used to lie down (fatigued) after eating in the post-midnight. Having abandoned bath, Sandhyā, and other religious rites, this life was spoiled by forsaking the sense of self-respect. I spent my days having wandered like a street-dog; I do not see any pleasure in the least. Just as a fly

falls into honey, I have also fallen (in the abyss of Samsāra) for the sake of this belly. I am struggling hard, Oh, release me." (I, 29).

4. Like all the mystics of the world Kanakadāsa passed through the ' Dark Night. ' The pangs of poverty, especially after his defeat in the battle, added to the same and like Śrīpādarāya, Kanaka has painted the whole scene in rather darker colours. The poet says :

" I am very humble and poor, and Thou art the giver to all the world. I am without any intelligence. When considered, Thou art the bestower of salvation of great merit. What do I know of Thee ? Thou art the image of best intellect. Is there any one that is like Thee ? Oh Lord ! Protect us." (*Haribhaktisāra*, 49)

5. *Recollection of his past doings* : The poet repents for the past, in which he had spent his youth in play and enjoyment of sensual pleasures. He implores God for protection :

" I spent some of my days in play and the youth in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures without bowing down at Thy feet. — I, having forgotten myself, became an object of hell through the eagerness of sensual desires. So, kindly remove the sin of my mind that went after wealth, women and others." (*Haribhaktisāra*, 50).

The devotee now repents that he had forgotten the Lord all these days. He says :

" I forgot Thee as soon as I got up in the morning. But I did not forget Thee in moments of distress, and cried, saying, ' Oh Hari ! ' But, my mind was not fixed at Thy Feet with devotion. But, shouldst Thou forget me that have become condemned by forgetting Thee ? Shouldst Thou forget such a being ? The cow does not forget its calf. (Even so) protect me kindly. " (*Haribhaktisāra*, 51).

6. *The devotee seeks for mercy* : There is none to believe the devotee and none to offer him raiment. Therefore, he becomes utterly helpless and seeks for mercy :

“ Oh, the Image of world-purification ! Why hast Thou not even this much mercy ? Is it proper to disregard one, who has believed in Thine feet willingly ? There is none to help, none to believe readily, and none to give raiment saying that I am poor. Though I am unchanging in my mind, it is not proper as not to care for me. Oh, my Lord Keśava ! there is none to give having invited me. Oh, the Highest Being ! there is none that knows Thee. I did not associate with anybody that knows Thee : and I say this in a figurative language. Oh, Parama-Hansa ! Thou, the ocean of mercy, dost know this full well.” (I. 23)

7. *Contrast between God and Devotee* : The poet at once becomes conscious of the eminence of the Over-Lord and the consequent inability of ordinary human beings on earth. And he tries to draw a beautiful contrast between God and his devotee :

“ Oh God ! in what way can I praise Thee, and what do I know about the eminence of Thy greatness ? Oh Hari ! Thou art the giver of Salvation; and I am a worm of human body and flesh. Thou art the Great Lord ; I am a trifling. Thou art a traveller on the great Garuḍa, I am a wanderer on feeble feet. Thou art the highest Light (of the Universe) ; I am a poor beggar. Thou art the ocean of mercy ; I am one, who is imbued with lust and anger, encircled by miseries. Thou art a Being omnipresent in the fourteen worlds ; I am a microscopic creature in the world. Thou art pervading every where; and I am a dove of wicked actions. Thou art the Lord of Vaikuṇṭha and the Father of Brahmā; I am an idol of a body, which is impermanent. Thou art

an image of Bliss itself ; and I am a worldly creature, who have no certainty. Thou art a God possessed of Titles ; and I am one, who have surrendered to Thee, Oh Ādikeśava ! ” (I. 45)

8. *Oh mind ! do not struggle, forbear* : Time and again, Kanaka seems to have felt uncertain and worried at the problem whether Hari would come to his succour. But with a firm attitude, he advises his mind to forbear :

“ Oh mind ! do not struggle but forbear. The Lord will protect you without delay—there is no doubt about this. Who waters the trees that grow on the top of the mountains, having prepared a pit and built a dam around them ? When God has created you and has undertaken the responsibility, he will certainly protect you. Why should there be any doubt about this ? Who painted the peacock with variegated colours ? Who painted the sweet-talking parrot with the green ? And, will such a creator—Śri Hari, forget us ? Who created food for a frog, which echoes from within the stone, where it is born ? The mighty Ādikeśava will protect you without delay. ” (I. 47)

9. *Stage of preparation* : With a full faith in God as the protector of the Universe, Kanaka begins to prepare himself for the further journey. He says :

“ Oh Hari ! never do I want the friendship of the wicked ; but let me be in the (company of the) righteous. (I do not want) the union of one, who thinks ill in a place of confidence ; the union of one, that always quarrels being jubilant ; the union of one, who is enamoured of the pleasure of Saṁsāra with eagerness of mind ; and the union of one, who grows mad having seen beautiful women. I do not want the union of one, who talks with piercing words ; the union of one, who is

miserly and does not give anything, though requested very much ; and the union of one who associates with an outcast. I do not want the friendship of one, who does not follow his words ; the union of one, who does not know the importance of the Vedas ; the union of one, who hates the Yogins and preceptors ; and the union of one, who is immersed in worldly affection and hatred. Oh Kāginele Ādikeśava, remove these miseries arising from the association of (these) people.” (I, 144)

10. *Attachment to the five organs of senses* : Or, here is a song in which the great Kanaka admits that the vain desires would not forsake him. He becomes utterly helpless and says :

“ What can I do ? Vain desires would not forsake me, Oh Rāmachandra ! the lion amongst men. Just like the moth (*patāṅga*), having seen the splendour of the flame, jumps very eagerly into it, even so, what is to be done to my eyes which gaze at women who look beautiful on account of gold and ornaments ? What can be done to the same ?

“ Just like a bee, having swallowed the fragrance of a beautiful Champā (*ka*) flower, falls (down to the ground) without looking further, (even so) what is to be done to my nose that smells the fragrance of the flowers worn by women, whose pacing resembles that of the elephant ?

“ What is to be done to my tongue, which relishes very deliciously the nectar (that lies) on the (red) lips of young women—which act is just like a fish that dies after swallowing the worm stuck up to the hook ?

“ What is to be done to my ears, which feel pleasure through lust, by hearing the melodious sound of the beautiful damsels, just like a deer that becomes

enamoured (by the sweet sound of the bell) and consequently dies ?

“ Oh Ādikes'ava ! do not see me having fixed in, but, take me out from the attachment of these five organs of senses. Thou art the only guide ; so, fix my mind at Thine feet.” (I. 75)

11. *I have become Thy slave* : The devotee becomes the slave of God, and implores Him for protection after having dried up the ocean of Saṁsāra. He utters :

“ He takes away a load of grass to the house of those that bring flowers (for Him). Protect me, Oh Lord ! who art full of Knowledge. I have been Thy servant in the last fourteen births, and shall attain salvation having served Thee. Having dried up the ocean of insurmountable difficulties protect me kindly, Oh Lord ! I bow down before Thy servants, and I shall beat the drum that I am Thy devotee. So, having unceasingly given me shelter among Thine devotees, Oh, the Father of the Ganges ! protect me. I have become Thy slave. Oh God ! If Thou dost forsake me, there is an oath of the Haridāśas to Thee.” (I. 6)

12. *Why is the Lord so proud* : Even admitting that everything in the life of the devotee is due to his past actions, why should the Lord, on the other hand, be so proud as not to bestow protection upon him ? Kanaka says :

“ Having become intoxicated (on account of) the riches of Thine great wealth, if Thou dost look through arrogance with an unfavourable glance towards the poor creatures, alas ! shouldst Thou forsake the unprotected without protection ” (*Haribhaktisāra*, 48).

13. *Grace of Lord necessary* : The poet becomes fully convinced that the grace of God is absolutely necessary for the attainment of the highest Bliss. He utters :

“What, if anything be done—there is no fruit without Thy favour. Is there any doubt about this? If Thou art pleased, even a blade of grass becomes a mountain. (So), if Thou dost accept me, what else is required, and why should I think further?” (*Haribhaktisāra*, 67).

14. *Impossible to forsake Thee*: The mystic is rising to a higher level. He becomes engrossed in the Almighty, and finds it utterly impossible to remain without Him. Kanaka says :

“Oh Hari ! is it possible to remain having forsaken Thee ? I say this emphatically—what of mere gossiping ? It is impossible to forsake Thee, Oh Lord.—It is possible to observe penance having forsaken parents. It is possible to forsake the nearer relatives. It is possible to quit from the kingdom if the king gets enraged. But Oh, the Father of Cupid ! it is not possible to remain separated from Thine feet.—It is possible to forsake food, even when the belly is empty ; it is possible to get away from the place of birth ; it is possible to forsake wife and children for ever ; but, it is not possible even for a moment to forsake Thine feet. It is possible to give away the life to others ; it is possible to leave off egoism and honour ; but, Oh Ādikeśava ! the bestower of my life, it is not possible to forsake Thine feet.” (I, 105)

III. Ś'ri Hari the Supreme Lord.

15. Kanakadāsa was a believer in the supremacy of God Ś'ri Hari alone. This led him most probably not to compose any songs on the Tāratamya. Further, it is worth our while to note, that he ignored the lesser Gods and deities. Once he says. “Why worship Yekkanāti, Yellammā, Mari, Durgi, and Chowdi ? When death comes to drag you, will these Śaktis save you ?” Worship not the Gods of the crowd,

who receive sacrifices of goat, buffalo and sheep. What will one gain by missing true God and worshipping low deities ? ”

16. Kanakadāsa was a mystic *par excellence*. His songs are ‘more philosophical in tone.’ At the same time he handles the most subtle problems with the greatest ease and lucidity. If God is both omnipotent and omnipresent, what must be his exact nature ? The poet makes a query :

Everything is within Thee :

“ Oh God ! Art Thou within the illusion, or is it within Thee ? Art Thou within the body, or, is it within Thee ? Is the building in the open space, or, the open space within the building, or, are both the building and the open space within the eye ? Is the eye within the mind, or, the mind within the eye, or, are these both within Thee ? Is the sweetness in sugar, or, sugar in the sweetness, or, are they both in the tongue (itself) ? Is the tongue within the mind, or, the mind within the tongue, or, are both of them within Thee ? Is the flower within he fragrance, or, the fragrance within the flower, or, are these both in the nose ? Oh Ādikeśava ! is it possible to say exactly, what is what ? But, it is certain that everything is within Thee. ” (I, 56)

17. *Everything moves at His initiation* : Kanaka is a firm believer in the mighty power of God. According to him, God is possessed of all the qualities, and, that He alone is the bestower of salvation. Nothing moves in this world except at his initiation. The poet says :

“ Everything happens at Thy initiation. All the animate and inanimate objects move at Thy initiation. If Thy help is lost, they all tumble. Then, where is the liberty for us (all) ? ” (*Haribhaktisāra*, 69)

18. *All belongs to God*: The devotee feels the presence of God everywhere. Mr. Masti Venkatesha Iyengar gives a beautiful rendering of the original Kannaḍa song¹:

“This body is Yours ; so is the life within it ; Yours too are the sorrows and joys of our daily life.”

“Whether sweet word or Veda or Study or Law, the power in the ear that hears them is Yours ; the vision in the eye that gazes lidless on beauty of young form, yea, that vision is Yours.”

“The pleasure that we feel in living together with fragrance of musk and sweet scents, that is Yours ; and when the tongue rejoices in the taste of its food, Yours is the pleasure with which it rejoices.”

“This body of ours and the five senses, which are caught in the net of illusion, all, all is Yours. O source of all desire that the body bears, is man his own master? Nay, all his being is Yours.” (I, 10)

IV. Aparoksa Jnyana.

19. According to the Mādhva philosophy, renunciation, devotion and direct cognition of the Lord by contemplation, are the main means leading to salvation. Of course, one fact may be noted, that, “when the Jīvas attain Mukti, they do not and need not become one with the Lord or equal to Him, or to one another amongst themselves,—which was not before, for, the perfection of each Jīva is duly his own, which does not savour of any sense of dissatisfaction or jealousy. Therefore, the man on earth shall reach the supreme state (Aparokṣa—Jnyāna), when he has the direct cognition of Lord Hari.” Kanaka describes the supreme state of bliss he has attained. He says :

1 Popular Culture in Karnātak : p. 77.

Vision of God :

“ I am saved, Oh ! I am saved. I have become free from the bondage, and the Saṁsāra is dried up. The favour of Padmanābha is bestowed upon me. The Tīrtha (holy water) and Prasāda (food offered to God) were bestowed upon my tongue. The nectar of the name of Hari was bestowed upon my ears. The servants of Hari became my nearest, and the Śrī Mudrā of Hari became my ornament. My hundred and one ancestors attained salvation. I became fit for the path of salvation. My mind having developed with the devotion of the Holiest Hari, the Lord of Rukmiṇi came within my reach. All kinds of glory were achieved in this (present) life ; and my future birth also has become fruitful. My father Ādikeśava, having come, stood firmly in my heart.” (I. 86)

20. Or again, in another song he reiterates the same idea :

“ Oh Hari, the highest goal is achieved by me for ever. Thou Thyself art my Preceptor. Thou Thyself art my Guru-mantra. Thou art the First Supreme Preceptor. Thou didst make me born in this world. Thou hast captured my mind and made it rest at Thy feet.—Oh Hari ! having relieved me of the burden of environments of great soldiers, marching to the battlefield with the armour, and the (consequent) announcement by means of drumming etc, Thou didst pick up the pearl having dissociated it from water. So, I (have) joined Thine feet, and am afraid of none. Oh, the courageous Ādikeśava ! protect me kindly.” (I. 83)

V. Samsāra.

21. The painful aspects of Saṁsāra take the philosopher to the regions of higher thought and intellect. Kanakadāsa

feels the agonies of Saṁsāra very keenly ; and eventually, he depicts the tragic aspects of the same in rather darker colours. He describes the nature of this perishable body, thus :

“ This body, having appeared just like a bubble on the surface of water, disappears. And in this big forest of Saṁsāra, I am lost.” (*Haribhaktisāra*, 75)

It is but an illusion that everybody thinks that he is powerful. The poet says :

“ Just like the image of mortar (situated) in a tower which appears to have borne the burden of the tower (itself)—Even so, who is actually bearing the burden of Saṁsāra ? And the man, who boasts that he is powerful, suffers by falling in a ditch.” (*Haribhaktisāra*, 82)

22. In fact, nothing belongs to man in this world. The poet says :

“ Wicked man ! do not say myself and thyself. But consider within yourself through knowledge, who you are ? Are females, land and wealth yours ? Is the desire accrued from food yours ? Is the sound accrued from ears yours ? Is the body that is once leaving you away yours ? Are you the one, who has come through these several births, and are you the one, that resided in the womb full of dirt ? Are you the one, who has come through the canal of urine, or, are you the one, who has got caste, creed and Gotra ? Do the time, working, purity and method belong to you ? Does the idol (body) of nerves fastened to plugs of bones belong to you ? Yea, you become the devotee of the joyous Ādikes'ava.” (I. 35)

23. *All is done for this belly* : Whither is the world drifting after all ? Nay, it is all engrossed in performing various actions for the sake of this belly. Thus Kanaka says :

“ What everybody is doing, is only for the sake of this belly and a loin cloth. Pounding of rice, carrying the burdens and doing menial service are all for this. Spending away time by reading the four Vedas, Purāṇas, and Śāstras is for this. Melting of iron and preparing guns and bullets is all for this sake. (It is) for this sake that warriors take the shield and the sword and cut across the enemy. Riding very big horses, wearing the armour as a warrior and dying in the battle-field are all for this. Stealing the property and afterwards getting oneself beaten is all for this. Having different guises *i.e.* of an anchorite, *Jangama*, *Jogi*, wrestler, buffoon, or *Bairāgi*, it is all for the sake of this belly.” (I. 32)

VI. Ethics.

24. As Dr. Radhakrishnan very beautifully puts it: “ It is in the power of all to destroy evil, eliminate the corruption of flesh, to redeem the lower nature and rescue the senses from bondage to passion. Each struggling individual will have to make a sustained endeavour to look into the truth with his own eyes, judge with his own reason, and love with his own heart. A half-truth won for ourselves is worth more than a whole truth learned from others.” In fact, this struggle for rising to a superior level is going on since the time of the Dravidian civilization in India. All the mystics of the past have placed before us their own experiments *i.e.* their pitfalls along with their achievements in life. They have also explained the different modes of living, which, when followed, will lead us to salvation. In the time of the Gītā, especially, all the three Jnyāna, Karma and Bhakti Mārgas, had already come into vogue. And since then, no change has taken place in the same, though we find that more predominance is given to one mode of living or the other, according to the notions of the particular saint or philosopher.

Kanakadāsa belongs to the new school of devotion. Therefore, Bhakti acquires a supreme position in his works. In one

the Śaṭpadis of his most excellent work 'Haribhaktisāra', summarizes the position of ethics in life. He says :

"Bath, Sandhyā, meditation, penance, gift, righteous act, obligation to others—with these (one should lead) a good life ; and such a person will be happy. Is there any other way ? What is the use of doing anything else for obtaining salvation ? There is nothing else except Jñāna and Bhakti." (*Haribhaktisāra*, 67)

25. *Hypocrisy of Mankind* : Kanaka exposes the hypocrisy of mankind, when he says :

"What is the use of practising meditation and penance, when they (the people) are possessed of deceit, sins and wickedness. Having struggled without realizing the First Preceptor (Ādi Guru), and having dried up the tongue by reading the Vedas and Śāstras, they remain without realizing the Ādi Manu (Primeval Being). If the supporters of the doctrine of the Bhedas, who are engrossed in argumentation, (remain) without doing any charity whenever possible, just like a tank in the forest which is filled up and dries away also—what is the use of practising meditation and penance ? Having stored up ornaments for wife and children, (they are) caught in the net by the servants of Yama. —Having got up in the cold, rain and extreme darkness, having meditated after taking a full bath in the river and having struggled hard, do not perish. But, Oh mind ! Remember Ādikeśava soon." (I. 104)

26. *Company of the righteous* : In one of his songs, anakadāsa is requesting God to keep him in the company of the righteous and never in that of the wicked. He says :

"Oh Hari ! never do I want the friendship of the wicked ; but, let me be in the (company of) the righteous. I do not want the union of one, who thinks

ill in a place of confidence ; of one, who always quarrels ; and of one, who is enamoured of the pleasure of Saṃsāra with eagerness of mind. (I do not want the company) of one, who becomes mad at the sight of women ; of one, who talks with piercing words ; and the union of one, who is miserly and does not give anything, though requested very much. (I do not want the company of) one, who makes friendship with the out-castes ; of one, who does not act as he says ; of one, who hates sages and preceptors ; and of one, who is immersed in worldly affection and hatred. Oh, Kāginele Ādikeśava ! keep me aloof from these miseries, arising from the association of the wicked people." (I. 144)

27. *Who is a Parama-yogin* : In one of his songs Kanakadāsa gives a full description of an Ideal Sage. He says :

" What is the body (after all) ? And (one) who realizes this truth by superior intellect is a Parama-yogin. — (One) who realizes that this body is of the duration of nine months (in the womb) full of dirt, and, that it comes out being developed out of a drop of semen, and realizes that such a body is an image of all sin, and does not get himself entangled within it, is a Paramayogin. — (One), who realizes with concentration of mind, that the idol (body) having the covering of skin over the skeleton fastened by the nerves, and filled with marrow and flesh, blood and mucus — is a Paramayogin. He is a Paramayogin, who, without being enslaved in such a dreadful body, stands aloof like the seed of the *Cashew-nut* and relies on the lotus-feet of Kaginele Ādikeśava." (I. 87)

28. *Various kinds of devotion* : Kanakadāsa has dealt with the subject of the various kinds of devotion propounded in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. In one of the songs, he has dealt with the topic of the efficacy of Name. Further he

scribed the importance of the worship of the feet of Śrī Hari. Kanakadāsa says :

“ Oh man ! live on, having worshipped the feet, which are) saluted by Śrī Laxmi, Brahmā, Indra and others ; the feet, that trampled Bali, being enamoured of Pākaśāsana ; the feet, that killed the wicked Śakaṭa by trampling ; the feet, that created the world-purifying ages ; the feet, that protected the race by turning the stone into a woman (*i. e.* Ahalyā) ; the feet, that pressed down the chariot of Pārtha ; the feet, that made the most wicked Duryōdhana roll down in the assembly ; the feet, that danced on the hood of the wicked āliṅga ; the feet, that are taken on their heads by aruḍa and Śeṣa ; the feet, that measured the whole universe by Three Steps ; the feet, that are being constantly pressed by the great Laxmi, and such feet of the supreme Kāginele Ādikeśava. ” (I. 16)

Views on Caste : Like Purandaradāsa, Kanaka does not make any distinction in caste in the cause of devotion. In his songs, he strongly criticizes those, who profess much about the distinctions of caste. He says :

“ The world is murmuring (in vain), saying ‘ caste, caste, caste. ’ But, really, what is the caste of the righteous ? Is not a lotus, which grows in the mud, brought and used in worshipping God ? Do not the Gods on earth ’ (Brahmins) use in this world the milk, which is created out of the body of the cow ? Gods decorate their bodies with the musk, obtaining from the excretion of the musk-cat. To what caste does Nārāyaṇa belong ? And to what caste does the Lord of Pārvati belong ? What is the caste of the Soul (Ātmā), what is the caste of the Jīva, and what is the caste of the five principle organs of knowledge ? — When Ādikeśava, the

indweller is pleased, where does the question (of caste remain) ? ” (I. 67)

30. *Words of Wisdom* : Besides this, Kanaka has composed various songs, which contain ‘ words of wisdom ’ for the mankind in general. Here is a song of that type :

“ Ordinary poets should not profess about their wisdom before the seers. One should not worship a stone lying on earth. One should not exhibit beautiful things before a sinner. One should not speak of one’s experiences before (one, who is possessed of) wrath. One should not prepare a hearth (just) touching an earthen pot, which has no bottom. One should not enter the doors of his relatives, when one is in utter poverty. One should not fall into the hell, by saying, that Hara is supreme, having despised Hari. One should not subject oneself to sin having hated others. One should not go out for creating quarrels with others, having heard his wife’s version. One should not reside where there are prattlers. One should not join those who speak in praise in the presence and hate behind. One should not forget the name of God Ādikesava. ” (I. 4)

31. *Conclusion* : Kanakadāsa was one of the most sublime thinkers of his age. He lived a long life of about ninety-one years and his main peculiarity is, that he does not seem to have outlived his greatness as is the case with many. Year after year, he seems to have made a definite progress in his life, and his inclination towards the path of devotion becomes greater still. Nowhere does he seem to have failed in intellect or clarity of thought. Moreover, his earlier work *i. e.* Mohanatarāṅgiṇi (about 1520 A. D.), or further his Haribhaktisāra, and other devotional songs do contain the same note of optimism throughout. Like Purandara he was a great mystic of the age. In fact, he still stands supreme both as a mystic and poet of high order.

5. (f) Vādirāja-Tīrtha (Soderājaru).¹

I. Life and Personality.

Vādirāja, who is also known as Soderājaru, was born in a village called Hūvinakere (Mangalore Dist.), in the year 1480 A. D. (or Śake 1402). His father's name is Rāmabhaṭṭa and mother's Gaurammā. He was the disciple of Vāgīśa-
tha, belonging to the Maṭh of Viṣṇu-Tīrtha, the younger
ther of Madhvāchārya. Vādirāja is said to have stayed
h Vyāsarāya as his disciple, and then shifted away the
āsamuṣṭi from the Maṭh. He was the worshipper of
ya-Grīva, and his *nom-de-plume* is Hayavadana. He is
cribed to have gone on a pilgrimage and travelled through
whole of India. His work Tīrtha-prabandha, in this
nection is of outstanding merit, and it is popular even
this day.

Vādirāja acquired the next supreme place after Madhvā-
rya. He was an eminent Sanskrit scholar and a poet of
h order in Kannaḍa. Besides the many Suḷādis and
votional songs, about twenty-two works are attributed to
authorship. His works are²:

Sanskrit :

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Gururājiya Sudhāṭippanī. | 5. Bhagavad-Gītā Ṭippanī. |
| 2. Tatva-Prakāśikā. | 6. Tīrtha-Prabandha. |
| 3. Tātparya-Nirṇaya Ṭikā. | 7. Mahābhārata Ṭippanī. |
| 4. Tantrasāra-Ṭikā. | 8. Rukmiṇīśa-vijaya. |

¹ The Nos. of Songs referred to in this Chapter are from ; Vādirājara
Kīrtanegalu—Edited by Pavanje Gururao, S'ri Kriṣṇa Press, Uḍupi

² cf. Karnāṭak Bhakta-Vijaya—Vol I, p. 160.

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 9. Gurvartha-Dīpikā. | 13. Pāṣaṇḍamata-khaṇḍana |
| 10. Prameya-Saṁgraha. | 14. Ekādaśī-nirṇaya. |
| 11. Yuktimallikā. | 15. Saṅkalpa-paddhati. |
| 12. Sarasabhāratī-Vilāsa. | 16. A collection of 50 Stotras |

Kannaḍa Works :

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Kannaḍa Tātparyā-Nirṇaya. | 5. Svapna-Gadya. |
| 2. Vaikuṇṭha Varṇane. | 6. Bhramara-Gītā. |
| 3. Guṇḍakriyā. | 7. Sulādis and various |
| 4. Lakṣmī-Śobhana. | Devotional songs. |

Besides these works and songs, Vādirāja composed songs in the Tuḷu language mainly for the sake of the untouchables. They are current even to this day.

Vādirāja was a Social Reformer too. In fact, it was he who converted the whole of the Gold-smith class of North and South Kanara into the fold of Vaiṣṇavism. These people are still the disciples of the Swādi Maṭh.

Vādirāja retired from this world in the year 1600 A. D.

2. It is also interesting to note, that Vādirāja has made a reference to God Viṭhobā in his Tirtha-praṇandha, which corroborates with the traditional account, that Bhānudāsa shifted the image of Pāṇḍuraṅga [which, they say, was originally brought over to Hampi by Rāmarāja (?)] to Paṇḍharpur back again. The line runs as follows :

ತುಙ್ಗಾತೀರಗತೋಽಸಿ ವಿಠ್ಠಲ ಮಿಶ್ರವಾನ್ಯಾಕೃತಿವಾಚಿತಮ್ ॥ ¹

We are not in a position, however, to agree with Mr. G. H. Khare, who opines, that 'the word '*anyākṛitih*' may indicate the installation (at Vijaya-Viṭhala's temple, Hampi,), of a different image altogether since originally.' ¹ In our opinion, the expression *anyākṛitih* may also indicate the separate image temporarily installed at Paṇḍharpur itself.

3. It should be noted at the outset, that Vādirāja-Swāmi did not suffer from the pangs of poverty, or from the sense

¹ cf. Vijayanagar Commemoration Volume, pp. 191-95.

of intellectual deprivation in the whole of his life. He had acquired a supreme position both as a scholar and philosopher. And he was one of those very few, who enjoy an admiration in regard to their achievements and personality in their lifetime. The Mādhvas even believe that Soderāja shall become the Vāyu in the next Kalpa (the three Avatāras of Vāyu being, Hanumān, Bhīmasena and Madhvāchārya).

II Heart-rendings of Vādirāja.

4. Though Vādirāja did not suffer from the pangs of poverty as many Haridāsas did, yet, he passed through the 'Dark Night.' In fact, it is a common feature of all the mystics, that they do suffer from the pangs arising in the course of the purification of their mind and body. During this process of the attainment of the highest Bliss, a true mystic becomes disgusted with all the worldly wealth and belongings including wife, children and others. Vādirāja also has undergone this stage. In one of his songs he expresses :

“ If I were really virtuous, would I hunt after wicked actions? Instead of fixing my mind in Puruṣottama, instead of associating with the righteous, and instead of understanding the study of the main Truths, would I associate with the arrogant? Decrying others daily, without respecting preceptors and elders, and without understanding that the preceptor is the deity, would I desire for others' belongings for protecting this disdainful body? I am struggling (hard) to find out a remedy. Have I forgotten Thee? Oh, Hayavadana! Thou art bearing the burden of the devotees of Vyāsarāya.” (I. 101)

5. Later on, the poet arrives at a firm conviction that 'whether now or at any (other) time this body must vanish,' and that there is nobody else to protect him except God. He says :

“ Whether now or at any other time, this body cannot remain without vanishing. So, Oh, the Sleeper on the serpent, and the lotus-eyed God ! relieve me of this desire for pleasures. Having been born again and again during a series of eighty-four lacks of life-species, I am very much pained by the sins committed in those lives. Oh, Thou the Sleeper in the ocean, and of meritorious deeds, relieve me of the tortures to be suffered after having fallen in the worst hell called Kumbhīpāka. The mind would never accept holy actions ; and the affection of self would never decrease. The head would not bow down to the righteous. The ears would not hear Thy life-story ; but for the worldly talks, time is not sufficient. Thus, there is no disgust created in my mind, and I cannot gauge what is in store for me (in future).—In the presence of people, I observe bathing and meditation : and, when there is nobody, there is no meditation nor the observance of silence. I preach the gospel of Truth, and, having observed the rites of all the seasons, I fill in my belly quietly having forgotten Thee. I do not care for those that despise me. I eat in the houses of the undeserving to protect my surrounding people. Having no belief in Thy feet, and having desired for the worldly pleasures. I became pedantic, and thus spoiled myself for nothing. I became a burden on earth without remembering Thee. I became enamoured having read only for the sake of food. I argue in the meetings, and deliver lectures on Vedas and Śāstras ; and if they (the people) offer me something, I praise them. If not, I abuse them and return with a morose face. Having travelled far off to different countries with the love of money, I tease whomsoever I see by begging without (becoming) worried ; but, I do not find the profit of even a penny. I became very much worried. Oh Śrīnivāsa, I was (much) deceived in the absence of Thy worship. I am very old, all my teeth

fell down ; my eyes became dim ; and I cannot even stand erect. So, Oh Hayavadana, lift me up ; correct my mind ; and make it to remember Thine lotus-feet. Because, Thou art the protector of those that join Thee ; because, Thou art the ocean of kindness to those, that belong to Thee—Thou art my only relative.” (I. 104)

6. *Vision of God Hayavadana*: Further, it is very interesting to observe how Vādirāja passess through the various stages of his mystical career. First, with a certain sense of uncertainty, and then with full confidence, he says, “ Govinda alone is my relation now, in future and for ever ” (I. 32). He further enjoys the vision of God Hayavadana. He expresses :

“ Oh Hayavadana, whence didst Thou come ? (Is it) to meet Vādirājamuni, who is very eager (to see Thee) ? Having touched (rubbed against) my body through affection, hast Thou come to offer me Thine Naivedya (remnant of Thine eating) ? Having prepared the *hayagrīva* (mixture of baked gram and joggery) containing the gram of Devotion and the joggery of knowledge, (along with) ghee called dispassionateness—when this was offered to Thee by morsels, Thou, having eaten it, and become enamoured of Thy servant Vādirājamuni, didst Thou come to protect him ? Oh, Hayavadana ! Thou didst protect having bestowed the fruit of deep knowledge and wisdom ; Thou hast come for this sake alone.” (I. 74)

II. God and Devotee.

7. Here is an interesting song in which Vādirāja puts it in the mouth of God, as to how He acts towards His devotees :

“ I am the son of Nanda Gopa and the destroyer of the wicked that are (working) against the deities. Having removed all the miseries that surround my

devotees that have relied upon me for ever I protect my devotees as if a father protects his sons! And this I say upon the oath of my son Kandarpa; and this is my Title. I fulfil all the desires of the devotees instantaneously; and there is no doubt that I protected the righteous. So, Oh man! do not become enamoured by mixing with the dull. Worship me fully well. When Indra became arrogant, I brought the heavenly tree by picking it up from the Nandana garden; and when all the deities came to fight with me, I, as a Hayavadana, protected them with mercy." (I, 126)

III. Madhva Religion.

8. Like all the other Haridāśas Vādirāja has dealt with the different topics in regard to ethics e.g. the fruitlessness of the Saṁsāra, rules of morality, importance of Name, and others. However, while doing this, he lays stress on the importance of the Mādhva religion. Being himself a staunch advocate of Mādhvism, he asks the people to follow the same alone. He says :

"What oath shall I take to prove that this religion is the best one? Oh man! all the learned are agreed on this (point). Shall I take the oath of Śrī Tulśi (plant) to the effect, that the doctrine of the Preceptor Madhvāchārya is superior to other Śāstras? Oh man! shall I cross the ocean to prove that the other religions are against the Vedas? Shall I take up a very great weight to prove that the Bhāgavataśāstra is of the highest merit? Oh man! shall I leap down from the top of a high mountain (to prove) that there is hell for him who hates a Bhāgavata? Shall I make the Vedas and the Āgamas speak out that Śrī Viṣṇu is the best among the Gods? Oh man! shall I drink the deadliest poison to prove that the Tāratamya is the means for the attainment of Mōkṣa, or shall I touch a running cobra

to prove, that, there is no day equal to the day of Hari (Ekādaśī) and the next one ? Shall I catch fire to prove that Ānandatīrtha is the protector of life ? Oh man ! shall I get the sound from the heaven (from the bodyless) to prove, that the great Hayavadana is full of good qualities ? ” (I. 144)

IV. Name of Hari.

Soderāja is again equally eloquent on the efficacy of the Name of Hari, the Overlord of the Universe. While dealing with the other problems of morality, he reiterates the importance of Name :

“ What is the use of uttering thousand-and-one words ? Oh mind ! utter once the Name of Hari, who is the Lord of fourteen worlds. Enough of the play with the wicked. Enough of the attachment towards wife. Enough of the meal that is not congenial. Enough of the company of others in excess. Enough of the travelling to various places. Enough with the hankering after seeing several sites and scenes. Enough of approaching the wicked. Enough of decorating the house. Do not feel perturbed by the desire of wealth. Do not feel the pain arising out of the miseries of Samsāra. Do not forget Janārdana. Do not protect this body tenderly. Associate yourself with the sinless. Act virtuously every day. Live your life thus and pray for salvation. Listen to the Name of Hari. Hear the greatness of Hari. Live within what is given (to you by the Lord). Endure hunger and thirst, and beseech for the service of the kind Hayavadana who is dwelling inside Śrī-Devī, and discard bad wishes. ” (I. 96)

5. (g) Vijayadāsa.¹

I. Vijayadāsa's Life and Personality.

1. Vijayadāsa, who was originally known as Dāsappā, was born in the year 1687 at Chikalparvi **Life-Story.** (Mānvi Tālukā, District Raichur), which is situated on the River Tungabhadra. His father's name is Śrīnivāsa and mother's Kūsammā.

He has expressed in one of his songs that he was leading a life of extreme poverty in his early career. And it is said, that as he was absolutely unable to support his family, he fled away to Benars for education; and further practised penance at Maṇi Karṇikā. Here he was favoured with a *nom-de-plume* 'Vijaya Viṭhala,' by the great Purandaradāsa in a day-dream. It is said that he began to compose songs immediately after this incident. Hereafter, he became known as Vijayadāsa.

He travelled thrice on foot to Benaras from his birth place, brought the holy water of the Ganges on his shoulders every time, and poured the same in a pond specially constructed for the purpose at Chippigeri. This place of the Tirtha is situated at a distance of about five miles from the Guṇṭakal Station. (Bombay-Madras Ry. line). It was here that his cremation took place.

Vijayadāsa had amongst his disciples the famous personages of the day *i.e.* Bhāgaṇṇā (Gopāladāsa), Timmaṇṇā,

1 The numbers of songs referred in this Chapter are from Vijayadāsara 'Kīrtanegalu, Parts I & II. Edited by Pavanje Gururao, S'ri- Kṛṣṇa Press, Udupi.

and Mohaṇṇā and others. They are nicknamed by Vijayadāsa as : Devotional Bhāgaṇṇā, Powerful Timmaṇṇā and Shrewd Mohaṇṇā.

He is described to have composed the largest number of songs and Sulādis, only to rank next after the great Purandara. It is said that he has composed 25000 songs.

He retired from this world in the year 1755 A. D., on Thursday, the tenth day of the Lunar half of Kārtika of the Yuva-Samvatsara.

2. The songs of Vijayadāsa are imbued with a strong fervour of devotion. We find in him a peculiar kind of originality while handling the subjects. And though the same were handled by the previous devotional saints of Karnāṭak, we do find in his treatment a novelty along with a rare combination of extreme simplicity and sublimeness. Another characteristic of his works is that they cover a wide range of topics in the domain of mysticism. However, we shall turn our attention to his main Teachings.

II. Dark Night of the Soul.

3. We have already traced the earlier history of Vijayadāsa's career, and further observed that Vijayadāsa becomes absolutely free from the pangs of poverty as soon as he steps into the path of devotion. Henceforth, his conflict was mainly concerned with the attainment of the highest goal. And immediately the problem of self-purification stood before him. In one of his psalms he asks God to see what he is actually suffering from :

“ Oh ! Lord, the World Physician ! what is the disease that I am suffering from ? Thou dost examine having felt my pulse calmly. The eyes cannot perceive the image of Hari. The ears cannot hear the Kīrtana of Hari. The nose cannot smell the fragrance of the sandal-paste applied to Hari. The tongue cannot taste the offer-

ing made to Hari. The hands cannot move to worship the feet of Hari. The head cannot bow down at the feet of the elders and the preceptor ; my feet cannot travel for the pilgrimage of Hari ; and the other limbs cannot move for the service of Hari. Oh, Vijaya-Viṭhala ! the relative of the unprotected, Thou hast become my precious Lord. Therefore, remove this very dangerous disease of time immemorial. I can never forget Thy favour for ever." (I. 110)

4. *Endow the devotee with devotion* : Vijayadāsa then makes a direct appeal to God that He should endow him with devotion. He says :

" Oh ! Lord, endow me with devotion ; and further, I do not mind (even) salvation, when Thou hast favoured me. Grant me this much always — that I should surrender this body at Thy feet. Let it be experienced that these riches and ornaments are (mere) dreams. Allow me to remain in the Mādhva cult. Make me forget the ways of the other doctrines. Place me in the company of the good ; and favour me with the nectar of Thine Name, which destroys Saṁsāra. Grant me hearing, understanding and constant remembrance of Thy Name ; and protect me without counting my defects. Oh Vijayaviṭhala ! Thou art the final solace in my last moments, as Thou art my Lord as also of the universe. (I. 142)

5. *I wish to see the eminent feet of the righteous* : In one of his sublime songs the great Vijayadāsa boldly expresses before God :

" Oh ! I have not come to have Thy vision, but only to see the feet of the righteous. When there is Thine omnipresence everywhere, where is the necessity of coming particularly here ? Oh, the Image of eminence !

Thou dost arrive at once by running when called for! When this is so, why should I come counting the distance? What, when Thou art visible anywhere to those that rely on Thee? Thou art beautiful and dost dance in the mind of those who have attained knowledge. It is very difficult to have the benefit of seeing Thy devotees." (I. 30)

6. *The devotee achieves the Goal*: In one of his songs, Vijayadāsa has told us how he achieved the goal in life. "He describes his spiritual awakening, using the figure of a sealed house opened by officers of justice. — The door of his being opened that day. He knew not how he reaped this fruit that comes only of righteousness. He knew not when that door was closed and sealed. It has been the house of evil all that time. He was deceived till that day and through the mountain of darkness could not see. God's grace was the key and the teacher's mercy was the strength. In company with the servants of God he went to his being and in the name of God opened the seal. The enemies that were around fled. He went in through the door holding firmly in the hand the light of knowledge fed with devotion. What did he find? A beautiful place all around; and there, seated in the lotus of the heart, praised by the lord of creation, served by the wealth of earth and heaven and surrounded by reflection of His being, he saw Vijaya Viṭhala, in whom existence (sat), knowledge and bliss are one." ¹

II. The will of Hari is ever true.

7. It is one of the chief characteristics of mysticism that a mystic leaves everything to the sweet will of the Supreme Lord. Even in the opinion of the greatest of the mystics, the will of man has no place as compared to the Divine will. Even so Vijayadāsa in one of his songs says :

1 Popular Culture in Karnāṭak, p 81.

“ The will of Hari (alone) is ever true; but, nothing in the least can happen as willed by man. The will of man is to have wife, children and wealth; but, the will of Hari is that he should remain without marriage. The will of man is to secure house, palanquin and elephant, but the will of Hari is that the man should travel on foot. The will of man is to enjoy various pleasures, but the will of Hari is that he should roll in diseases. The will of man is for good food and raiment, but the will of Hari is that he should go on begging for food. The will of man is to attain Vijayaviṭhala, but the will of Hari is that he should be born again and again in this world.” (I. 109)

8. *Nothing excels the vision of God* : The poet, while describing the all-pervading nature of God, says, that, there is nothing that excels the vision of God. He utters :

“ And this is not a falsehood, as even the Vedas proclaim so. Even the least touch of the Vaiṣṇavas, (would lead us) to the path of salvation. Wherever Thou art, there are all the holy places (Kṣetras) ; wherever Thou art, there are all the holy ponds (Tīrthas), and wherever Thou art there are all the Sāttvic Jīvas. Then, how is it possible that I can come without Thy knowledge ? If meditated in mind, Thou couldst become visible, but could the learned be seen there ? If meditation and sacrifice be made even in several births, could so many righteous Jīvas assemble on this earth ? Oh Lord ! endow me with Thy image alone. And, there is nothing excelling Thy vision. Being enamoured of Thy devotees, Thou didst extend the function of Thy marriage. Oh Vijaya Viṭhala ! Thou art the easiest of the Gods.” (I. 30)

III. Sādhana.

9. Here is a song wherein Vijayadāsa tells us, that, all the means for the attainment of salvation are obtainable in this life alone. He says :

“ Can it be said that the means of salvation are not obtainable? After one has attained the favour of his preceptor with reverence: whatever is seen, is the image of the Lotus-navelled God ; whatever is eaten or worn is the worship of Viṣṇu ; whatever is heard differently is the fame of the Lotus-eyed God ; and all the utterances are the names of Hari. Further, carrying out the motive to the last is the intention (saṅkalpa) of Hari ; all the wanderings are the holy pilgrimages ; the approach of poverty is an occasion for the worship of God ; and to be in goddiness is the order of the Lord of Laxmi. Sleeping very soundly is the prostration before God ; whatever has gone beyond control is an offering to the Over-Lord ; the pain of mind and body is an act of renunciation of the worldly pleasures ; and trickery is all the play of Hari. Observing hospitality is the mandate of right and wrong ; the suffering of disease is a fierce penance ; the commentary of the enemies is the blessing of the Great ; and the hospitality shown to the relations is universal kindness. Keeping quiet, being deficient in wisdom, is the Samādhi (state of deep meditation). Whatever is given by Him is precious. (After one attains this state), can not Vijaya Viṭhala, dwelling in Madhva, accept him having realized the intention of the bearer ? ” (I. 125).

IV. Devotees of God.

10. In one of his sublime songs Vijayadāsa enumerates the characteristics of the devotees of God. He says :

“ The devotees of God are just like fire covered with ash on this earth. If seen, they, with bodies which can be termed as ugly, are very difficult of approach. They are meditating on the auspicious God within. They always remain in the company of the virtuous without separation. They do not behave nor talk like the common folk, and do not mix with the deceitful. They

do not earn their livelihood by means of setting up quarrels and back-biting. They ever wander in the whole world. They never exhibit nor play like a juggler with his dancing doll. Having discarded all the desires, they are jubilant and sing the glory of the inner image (Bimba). They reckon friends and foes equally; and they never rely on sons, friends and relations. They achieve their means of attaining salvation by praising Hari, and by performing pilgrimage to the holy places. They attribute all their miseries and pleasures to the Protector of the Elephant (Gajendra), and contend that whatever is given is given by Hari. And they obtain the highest kingdom of devotion by worshipping Vijaya Viṭhala to their hearts' contentment." (I. 117).

5. (h) Gopāladāsa.¹

I. Life-story.

1. Gopāladāsa, who is also known as Bhāgaṇṇadāsa, belongs to the Raichur District. He was born **Life-story.** at Masarukallu (Devadurg Tālukā) in the year 1717 A.D. (Ś. 1650). His father's name is Murāri-Rāya, and mother's Veṅkammā. He had three brothers *i.e.* Dāsappā, Śinappā and Raṅgappā respectively. All of them joined the Dāsakūṭa.

The family of Bhāgaṇṇadāsa was very poor. It so happened one day, that Bhāgaṇṇā happened to meet Vijayadāsa at Advāni, in the house of Timmaṇṇa, the then Prime Minister of the State. Vijayadāsa was very much pleased to see Bhāgaṇṇā, and eventually gave him the Title 'Gopāla-Viṭhala. Hereafter, Bhāgaṇṇā became known as Gopāladāsa throughout the country. Gopāladāsa later on gave Titles to his brothers.

Gopāladāsa is described to have performed a great miracle. His pupil Jagannāthadāsa was destined to be shortlived. But Gopāladāsa, coming to know about this, bestowed upon him according to the order of his preceptor Vijayadāsa, a life of full forty years from the term of his own life; and he thus saved Jagannāthadāsa.

He had many disciples; one of them was the famous Jagannāthadāsa. Gopāladāsa retired from this world on Saturday, Puṣya Bahula, Chitrabhānu Samvatsava.

2. Gopāladāsa is well-known for his devotional songs in the whole range of the Haridāsa literature. In fact, we find some-

¹ The numbers of songs referred to in this Chapter are from : Gopāladāsara Kīrtanegalu Parts I & II : Edited by Pāvanje Guru Rao, Sri Kṛṣṇa Press, Udupi.

thing of the 'divine outpouring' in the songs of Gopāladāsa. He is always thoughtful and consistent. He has dealt with all the topics concerning mysticism; and he is at his best everywhere. However, we shall have a glance at his main Teachings.

II. Dark Night of the Soul.

3. The devotee is at a loss to know what exactly he should beseech before the Over-Lord. He says :

"Oh God ! what shall I beseech of Thee having approached, when the grace bestowed upon me is abandoned. Oh, the Lord of the Universe ! if I should beseech Thee to grant me a mother, what did the mother favour Rādheya (Karna) with ? If I should beg Thee to give me a father, what did the father grant Pralhāda ? If I should ardently beseech Thee for younger brothers, what did the younger brother give to Vāli ? If I should beg Thee to give me wealth with humiliation, what happened to Duryodhana who (had) amassed so much wealth ? If I should beseech Thee to give me a wife, what did Vasu called Dyū (यु) achieve from his wife ? If I should beseech Thee for sons with pleasure, what did Dhṛtarāṣṭra achieve from his sons ? If I should beg Thee to give me relations with pleasure, what did the relatives give Gajarāja ? If I should beg before Thee jubilantly to give a palanquin, what did Nahuṣa, who sat in the palanquin, become ? Therefore, Oh Gopāla Viṭhala ! residing in the Eastern mountain (Veṅkaṭagiri), I shall beseech of Thee, that which is worth beseeching. If it is in Thy mind to favour me (with something), my Lord ! make me that I should never beseech anybody for anything." (I, 6)

III. God pervades everywhere.

4. Here is an interesting song, wherein Gopāladāsa describes the all-pervading characteristic of God in the light of the Dwaita philosophy. He expresses :

“Wherever seen, there is not such a place where Thou art not; Thou art the in-dweller of all beings, and Thou art all-pervading. Thou art in grass, wood and all animate and inanimate objects; and all praise Thee saying that there is nothing without Thee. Oh Hari! what should I say to those or what should I attribute to the undeserving people that argue, that there is no difference between Thee and themselves? Just as a lotus, though remaining in water, has no application of it, so also, Thou art the insinuator and inner-dweller Thyself. Oh Gopāla Viṭhala! the Lord of the Deities, only the learned know Thee and others do not. Thou Thyself art the all-pervading face, eyes, hands and palm of the universe. Thou art the all-pervading ears, and the support of the Universe. Thou art, all-pervading and omnipotent. Oh Gopāla Viṭhala! Thou, who art the Universe itself, dost grant me devotion in Thy all-pervading feet.” (I. 31 & 32)

IV. Dhyāna. (*Meditation*).

5. Gopāladāsa was an ‘activistic’ type of saint, in so far as, we find in him a combination of a devotional saint as well as one who believed in yogic methods. Here is a song, wherein he describes the methods for the attainment of the *Aparokṣa-Jnyāna*. He says :

“Oh man! meditate upon the Bimba (inner-dwelling God) within yourself by sitting in a joyous mood. After having bowed down to the twelve preceptors, after becoming perfectly righteous, after having repeated the first *Mantra* from the beginning, and after having understood the in-dweller with pure devotion, meditate upon Him with great confidence, sitting in a *Padmāsana* posture (*i. e.* with legs folded cross-wise).

“Without moving the body and with greater firmness (of mind), having shut the eyes, having forsaken the

sensualities and having fixed the most auspicious and perfect image in the mind, see everything.

“ Having once remembered all the forms of God and the image of the Highest Preceptor, then having taken back the mind after having removed it, fix it again in the Bimba of thine own Preceptor. Afterwards, gently think of all these images with concentration, and having brought them together, join the same with the image of God, who is permanent (there) in your heart.

“ Think that He Himself is the image of Bimba, and having approached the pulses, afterwards bring the light in the all-pervading Almighty and with affection join them together.

“ In the light of knowledge, having prepared your heart with the eight-petaled lotus, and having seated Śrīnivāsa, whatever worship you do outside, do it inside.

“ Do service (Upāsanā) with four qualities. Look at the form of Hari at every moment, saying, that, He is the ordainer of every item of life, and that there is no one except the Sleeper on the Serpant.

“ Having discarded affection, without desiring for anything, having understood all the other objects as equal, and having observed Samādhi with devotion, and with foresight (*divya-dṛṣṭi*) observe the mode gradually.

“ If meditated in this way, God shall show mercy, and the store of passions being destroyed, you will attain Aparokṣa Jnyāna according to your standard. Then Gopāla Viṭhala will favour you.” (I. 29)

V. Haṭavāda.

6. Gopāladāsa has written a beautiful monograph consisting of a dialogue by argumentation with regard to the

nature of the three kinds of Jīvas (Sātvika, Rājasa, and Tāmasa). As Gopāladāsa himself has suggested in the beginning, the Haṭavāda is a commentary on the topic in regard to the liberty given by God to the Trividha Jīvas, detailed in the Dattakartṛtva Khaṇḍana-Lakṣaṇa in the Tātparya-Nirṇaya of Madhvāchārya.

The exact setting scene of the dialogue is as follows: While the Pāṇḍavas are spending their time in the forest, Draupadi questions Dharmarāja, that it is not justifiable on his part to forgive the wicked actions of Duryodhana, and that the duty of the warrior caste (Kṣatriya) forbids him from doing the same. Dharma shows his unwillingness for war and thus the dialogue begins. It should also be noted, that in the later stages of the dialogue, Draupadi retires and Bhīma steps in, and takes part in the same. The whole work is thoughtful and of absorbing interest. The main contents of the work may be summarized as follows :

‘ In the opinion of Dharmarāja, the whole world is sustained on the quality of forgiveness, which itself belongs to the power (Śakti) of the Over-Lord. As Nārāyaṇa is the efficient cause of the Universe, all the actions of the Jīvas are subordinate to Him and are done at his initiation. The Jīvas do not possess any independent power of discrimination of doing any work independently of the power of the Over-Lord.

‘ Draupadi, and later on, Bhīma argue that they do not admit of the existence of the *Datta-Kartṛtva-Śakti*, but, when once the Jīvas are endowed with this power, they must use the power of discrimination ; otherwise, the actions of the Jīvas (along with the fruits) shall have to be attributed to the Over-Lord alone, which is, however, illogical. ’

5. (i) Jagannāthadāsa.¹

I. Life-Story.

1. Śrinivāsa, who is later known as Jagannāthadāsa, was born in a village called Byāgavaṭṭi (Mānvi **Life-Story.** Tālukā, Dist. Raichur), on the second day of the Lunar half of Śrāvaṇa, Kīlaka Saṁvatsara, Ś. 1649, or 1727 A. D. He belonged to the family of a Brahmin Kulkarni. His father's name is Narasappā. Śrinivāsa received his earlier education under the great Varadendraswāmi, who was then adorning the pontifical throne of Mantrālayamaṭh. Śrinivāsa got himself married later on.

Jagannāthadāsa formerly used to resent the Haridāśas, saying, that they were inferior in knowledge, and that they conveyed the philosophical doctrine in the Kannaḍa language. He hated Vijayadāsa also for the same. And this was the main reason, they say, why he had to suffer, soon after, from the attack of consumption. Jagannātha, being overpowered with repentance, expressed his wish to see Vijayadāsa. Eventually, he was taken in a cradle to the residence of Vijayadāsa. Vijayadāsa, seeing that Jagannātha had completely surrendered himself before him, asked his disciple Gopāladāsa to part away with forty years from his life's period. Gopāladāsa accordingly did it. Later, Gopāladāsa favoured Śrinivāsa with a *nom-de-plume* 'Jagannātha Viṭhala.' Henceforth Śrinivāsa became known as Jagannāthadāsa.

1 The numbers of songs referred to in this Chapter are from Jagannāthadāsara Kīrtanegalu, Part I: Edited by Pavanje Gururao, S'ri-Kṛṣṇa Press, Udupi.

Jagannāthadāsa was an eminent Sanskrit scholar and a writer of high merit in the Kannaḍa language. Besides the many devotional songs and Tattvasuvālis, he has also written the well-known work called 'Harikathāmritasāra.' A story is current how he came to write the 'Harikathāmritasāra.' The great Vyāsarāya, Vādirāja, Purandaradāsa and Vijayadāsa are said to have once appeared in a dream, and asked him to compose a splendid work, which would propound the Mādhva philosophy in a nut-shell. This led him to compose the most excellent work 'Harikathāmritasāra.' This Kannaḍa work has been written by him in the later years of his life.

Jagannātha did not suffer from the pangs of poverty in his life-time. Further, Pūrṇayyā, the Prime-minister of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, was one of his great admirers.

Jagannātha retired from this world on the *ninth* day of the Lunar half of Bhādrapada, Śukla Saṁvatsara, Ś. 1731 (or 1809 A. D.).¹

2. It should be noted at the outset, that Jagannāthadāsa was well-to-do since his early days. Therefore, like Vādirāja, we find in him a person, who is not much affected by the shocks of the miserable Saṁsāra. The early incident of the attack of consumption, however, caused a sudden change in his mind towards the path of devotion. After this incident, there was again nothing that would cause him any worry or make his life miserable. Therefore, we find in his works, especially the Harikathāmritasāra, a continuous flow of the same poetic flash throughout. It is this element, which has created for him a supreme position in the whole range of the Haridāsa literature.

1 cf. Also N. B. Kalandani : Jagannāthadāsara Charitre

II. Devotional Songs.

(i) Heart-rendings.

3. In the earlier stages of his career, Jagannāthadāsa seems to have been overpowered with a strong sense of disgust towards the follies he had been committing all along. He gives expression to this while imploring God :

“How can I become the servant of Thy servants, when I am committing innumerable sins every day ? Having discarded bath, sandhyā, japa, dhyāna, silence and righteous acts, and being possessed with the idea of ‘my-self’ and ‘mine’, I hate the learned having mixed with the wicked. Having disregarded the eleventh day (Ekādaśī) and (discussed) the worldly topics, Oh Śrikānta ! I forgot Thine service. And having accepted the worldly pleasures, I lived having disregarded (the) parents that protected me. I (always) incurred enmity with those that are superior to me. Oh, the Lord of the deities ! I hate those that are my equals ; and mock at those that are inferior to me. Having taken the form of a servant (just) for the sake of the desire for a penny, I deceive people by trickery. And I was duped owing to my not understanding that Vāsudeva himself is the Lord of all time and space. —I am an abode of all the wicked actions in this world ; and (I) do not possess even an iota of devotion and renunciation. Protect me, Oh Lord ! Jagannātha Viṭhala, the protector of the deities. Thou, of unblemished greatness, art the Lord of those that have attained salvation.”
(I. 53)

(ii) Redemption.

4. Here is a psalm in which Jagannāthadāsa has described in detail the condition of a liberated soul. He says :

“Is he not liberated (from saṁsāra), who meditates with full devotion upon the all-powerful Hari? Is he not liberated, who sings by dancing and praising with extreme glee in his heart the holy qualities of the Enemy of Madhu? Is he not liberated, who says that Ramā, the Lotus-born (Brahmā), Sadāśiva and other deities are (merely) servants of Keśava and that they have absolutely no power (as apart from that of Hari) even to twinkle their eyes? —Is he not liberated who says that the Lord of Indirā doth bestow the wordly pleasures, having connected the objects (Viśayas) with the eleven organs (Indriyas)? —Is he not liberated, who thinks in this way, that the Protector of Śrī gives merit and sin, victory and defeat, and honour and dishonour? —Is he not liberated, who takes delight in investigation with the help of the sayings of Modatīrtha (Madhvāchārya), and discards the contradictions occurring in the Vedas and Śāstras? —Is he not liberated, who thinks that the actions of the learned are justified, and the actions of the wicked, though they look correct for the time being, are unwholesome? —Is he not liberated, who thinks that Hari removes all the *Karmas* and also makes (the Jīvas) enjoy the fruits of heaven, earth and hell, without allowing the microscopic Jīvas to remain in one place? —Is he not liberated, who delights himself having made offerings to the Highest Being, who resides with the preceptors and elders having followed their advice? —Is he not liberated, who protects with delight this body, thinking that the Lords of the same are Śrinivāsa, the Chief Vāyu, Rudra and others? —Is he not liberated, who desires for the Grace of Hari, having discarded all the other wishes saying that God is *Annamaya* (the fifth sheath) and that He is the beloved of all beings? —Is he not liberated, who meditates upon the qualities of the Overlord of the

Universe, day and night unceasingly, saying that there is no other friend except the Destroyer of enemies?—Is he not liberated, who says that the image of God called Bimba in the interior sky of the hearts of all makes them do the *Karmas* Himself?—Is he not liberated, who remembers that the God, who is the Lord of Vāk Surapa and other gods and goddesses, is a witness of all the actions?—Is he not liberated, who says, that, the Lord, who seems to have been born along with the lives—He Himself being without any misery, and different from all the atomic and huge objects, and without any subject-makes the Jīvas enjoy the fruits of their merits and demerits?—Is he not liberated, who says, that God is the Lord, the relation, the friend and the image of the Universe—and frees from misery all the human beings in the Universe?—Is he not liberated, who thinks that, he cannot become free from the fear of the Overlord called Jagannātha Viṭhala, who is fierce, and who is of the colour of a golden-jar?" (I, 38).

(iii) Devotees of God.

5. Here is a sublime song composed by Jagannāthadāsa, wherein he implores God, that, 'He should protect devotees.' While doing so, he has given a beautiful description of the qualifications of the devotees of God. He says:

"Oh Raṅga, the ocean of mercy, protect me having bestowed upon me the union of the auspicious devotees that sing Thy fame.

"They (the devotees) do not know any other God except Thyself. They shall never forget the obligation done by Thee without any motive. They shall never discard with the service they do at Thine feet everyday.

They are not aware of any other thought except that of the Highest Truth.

“ They remain just like the deaf and the dumb. They never entertain in their mind any wicked contrivances. They never accept at any time anything which is not (first) offered to Thee. And they do not hanker after the pleasures of liberation (*Mokṣa*) also.

“ They (always) consider that, victory and defeat, profit and loss, honour and dishonour, safety and danger, pleasure and misery, gold and wood, lovable and ugly, praise and insult, and others, —are all subordinate to Thy will. They are the unswerving devotees (*Ekānta Bhaktas*) like the gods. They are the followers of rites and observances suitable to the country and time. They are free from the snare of desire, anger, love, passion etc. And they are the only powerful, for (bestowing) blessings and curse.

“ They consider that whatever is eaten and fed is all sacrifice to Thee. They enjoy the nectar of Thine Name like a bee (enjoying the fragrance). And they consider that their wives and children are all Thy slaves.

“ They never forget at any rate their usual observances. They are worshipped by (all in) the world. They will never cringe (for anything) with meekness. They will never accept anything that comes from Thine enemies, and they give whatever is begged of them. They are ever joyous.

“ They laugh, they weep and they dance (in ecstasy). (They) the Bhāgavatas never desire for riches nor poverty. They never remove their mind from Thee at any time. Oh Jagannātha Viṭhala, how great and how blessed are Thy devotees ! ” (I. 10)

This is one of the few songs which is sung in almost every home in the Kannaḍa country even to this day.

III. Harikathamritasāra.

6. The Harikathāmritasāra is, as we have remarked above, a production of the later years of Jagannāthadāsa. It is a work written in Bhāmini Ṣaṭpadi metre in Kannaḍa and is an epitome of the Mādhva Philosophy. It has been written in a lucid and chaste style. Further, the language of the work marks the perfection of the Kannaḍa language that had reached in the time of Jagannāthadāsa. After this period, we again find that a deterioration of the Kannaḍa language takes place; and only within the second quarter of this century successful efforts are being made to revive the original fervour of the same.

(i) Contents.

7. The work originally consists of thirtythree Saṁdhis (Chapters), out of which the first thirty-two were written by Jagannāthadāsa himself, and the remaining by his disciple Śrīda Viṭhala (33) The work deals with almost all the philosophical problems discussed in the Indian philosophical literature, as interpreted in the light of the Mādhva Doctrine *i. e.* the grace of Hari (2), the all-pervading nature of God (3), the eminence of the Lord (5), self-surrender (10), meditation (11), efficacy of Name (12) the decentralization of power to the Jīvas (datta-svātantrya), Kṛiḍā-vilāsa (18), freedom from bondage (19), the doctrine of gradation (20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 32), and warding away of all the calamities (22), Aparokṣa Jñāna (24) and others. We have decided, however, to give a short survey of the main topics discussed in the work.

(ii) Grace of Hari.

8. According to the Mādhva Philosophy the grace of the Over-Lord is necessary for the attainment of Mokṣa. Jagannāthadāsa herein describes the kind nature of Hari, and further explains how He comes to the succour of His devotees :

“Even with the prayer of Laxmi, who is the presiding deity of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, He cannot be understood, as He is the ocean of all the eternal imperishable virtues. (Even then) He becomes subdued by seers who meditate and serve at His feet every day. Oh, how kind He must be ! (2, 3) — He cannot be obtained through mind or speech. But He wanders along with those who meditate upon him. He Himself, having borne the Universe within Himself, and being the indweller of the Jivas is born with them. He is possessed of immense prowess. And He, having heard the singing of His devotees, appears in their mind..(2, 4)—He is so much eager, that, He sits hearing His praise when the devotee sings (the same in devotion) ; He hears it by standing, if the devotee sings the same by sitting, He begins to dance (hearing it), if (the devotee) sings while standing ; and He gives Himself up, if he sings by dancing. He is so easy (of approach), and cannot remain separated even for a moment. This being so, the creatures suffer in this world not knowing how to please the Lord of Ramā (25)—Remaining in the mind, He calls Himself as mind. He gives the fruit to the three kinds of lives (Sāttvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa) according to the five functions of mind. If this mind is offered to Hari, He offers himself up to the devotees in return ; and without doing so, if one, merely chastises his body by austerities etc., He bestows heaven and other temporary pleasures. (2, 6). He gives Himself up to those, who, saying that Hari is the image of the best Puruṣārtha (salvation) in this universe, meditates righteously and eagerly. But having forgotten this, if anyone desires for Dharma and Artha (prosperity), He smiles and readily gives (in the same way) as He did in the case of Surapa (Arjuna) and Duryodhana. (2, 7). He creates the universe through the Four-faced Brahmā, protects it Himself and

destroys it having remained in the Great Rudra. He, having absolutely no difference with his own Avatāras, is all-pervading, and is (as if) all happiness itself. He is called by various names and He protects his devotees. (2, 8). He talks through one; he sees through the other; begs through the third; gives through another; and speaks through somebody else, being amazed. Thus, He is the greatest and the most powerful God. He minds none and is without any fear—He Himself being the master and the Doer in the whole Universe. (2, 9) He is the Mandāra (wish-yielding tree) to those who surrender (themselves to Him), and is always affectionate and gives whatever is wished for. He is holy to the superlative degree, and is of auspicious deeds and the friend of Pārtha (Arjuna). He is an unsurpassed and unqualified image (*Ātmā*) of pleasure, and is completely void of miseries. He is the Lord of all the deities. If one invites Him with these epithets, He will descend towards His devotee (2, 10). The young child, not seeing its mother in darkness, cries remembering her; and the mother, at such a time, having found it hidden in the house, smiles and passifies it having embraced very closely. And thus, as she removes the anxiety, Madhusūdana also comes and protects His devotees having neared them (towards Himself) (2, 11). Having become enamoured of His (Pāṇḍuraṅga) devotee, who gave Him with devotion a brick to stand upon, He gave himself up to him (Puṇḍalīka). He bestowed all kinds of wealth (Arthas) upon the poor Brahmin (Sudāma), who offered Him one fistful of pounded rice. And did He mind the bad quality of Bhiṣma, who darted an arrow against Him? Oh, how kind is this God! (2, 12). Oh! what an ocean of kindness is Hari, and how much subordinate He is to his devotees! What more wonder should there be? He creates

the world by His mere will, protects and keeps the Jivas in Nirvāṇa and other abodes, and gives them pleasure (2, 16). I can never see anywhere in this Universe an equal amongst the Gods to the Lord of Laxmi in point of forgiving wicked actions. Did He count the extreme actions of Nanda Gopa, or the wife of Sāṁdīpa, Bhṛigu Rīṣi, Mahādeva and others? Oh! what an ocean of kindness is Hari! (2, 19). He will always protect having bestowed, just like the Ganges, a heap of fruits of the newest, lustrous, fragrant and tasteful varieties, having accepted the offerings made (by the devotees) by conceiving the best articles in their mind. And He steals away the sins of those that steal away His good qualities, He Himself being called as void of sins (Anagha). (2, 22). He is altogether different from the sentient and non-sentient beings, and is fresh amongst the most new things. He is very beautiful amongst the beautiful, and (the most tasteful) of all the tastes (2, 23). He protects His devotees from all sides (2, 24). He will fasten those that leave Him by the fastening of Saṁsāra. He is very cruel (in their cause); but, (He) will release the tie of Saṁsāra of those that fasten Him with a rope of full devotion, saying always, that He is the beloved of the righteous. He is never wrathful to them, and having bestowed the desired objects, He protects them, having given all happiness in this world and the next. ” (2, 27)

(iii) God, World and Individual Soul.

9. It is one of the main peculiarities of Mādhva philosophy, that it propounds, that there is difference between the three entities Īśvara, World (Jagat) and the Jivas, and that these are distinct from each other. This is called as the Doctrine of Pancha-bheda. Jagannāthadāsa has dealt with this problem in his work. He says :

“ Every *jīva* is different from the other, and each *jaḍa* is different from the other *jaḍa* (non-sentient being), each *Jīva* is different from the *Jaḍa*, and the Lord of Śrī is altogether different and separate from these. Laxmi, is again different from all these three ” (7, 29).

Creation : Further, Jagannātha has described in detail how the world (of substance etc.) comes into existence. Herein, like Madhvāchārya, he follows the Sāṅkhya doctrine as modified by the Purāṇas,¹ Again, if the Lord of the Universe is different and distinct from the *Jīvas*, then, how do they stand related towards each other in this world ? Jagannātha says :

“ Just like the looking-glass that is without dirt, being reflected exhibits inside itself all the things that are outside, so also the Bimba, being inside the animate and the inanimate, objects shines by various forms. ” (7, 4)

10. *Distribution of power* : Further, Jagannātha describes in detail how the power of the Over-Lord is distributed in the whole universe (cf. 7th Saṁdhi). But, who is in the know of all these qualities ? Jagannātha expresses :

“ The qualities, which are not understood by the deities are knowable to Vāṇi and Bhārati, who are the presiding deities of the Vedas. And the qualities which these do not understand are knowable by Brahmā, the knower of the Vedas. And the qualities unknown to Brahmā are known to Laxmi, as Śrī Hari is the only God (who deserves) to be worshipped. ” (7, 30)

1 “ Creation begins when the supreme soul disturbs the equilibrium of the Prakṛti which then develops into all the other principles until the mundane egg is produced. Then placing the sentient and non-sentient objects into His inside He enters into the mundane egg. Then, at the end of one thousand celestial years, He produces from his navel a lotus, which is the seat of the four-faced Brahmadeva ; and from this last, after a long time, the ordinary creation takes place. ” — Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. IV, pp. 84-85.

Again, who can know about His eminence ? Jagannātha says :

“Laxmi, the goddess of the Vedas, without seeing the beginning, the middle, or the end of the forms and qualities of Śrī Hari, says, ‘Oh, how have I become the wife of such a (God) ! Yes, He accepted me with great kindness, just like the greatest of the emperors receives an invitation from a beggar.’” (7, 24)

But even then she becomes puzzled in regard to the knowledge of God. Jagannātha expresses :

“Just as a boat roams about without finding out the shore in the ocean at the time of Deluge, so also, the Goddess Laxmi, thinking about the qualities and forms of her Lord Śrī Hari, without (however) finding out the depth of the same, becomes puzzled. When this is so, how could these lives understand His eminence in this universe ?” (7, 32)

11. *The doctrine of Tāratamya* : Later, in various Chapters Jagannātha describes the nine kinds of gradation. There is gradation among the Jīvas and there is gradation in the whole universe. “The Gods, Ṛṣis, and the Manes, and the best of men belong to the first class, ordinary men belong to the second class, and demons, ghosts, and the vilest of men, etc., to the third class. All these individual souls remain distinct from each other and from the supreme soul, both in this world and in the next.”¹ However, we need not go into the detail at present.

(iv) Nature of God.

12. Jagannāthadāsa has laid stress on the subject of the nature of the Overlord in many of the Chapters of the Hari-kathāmṛitasāra. Here are a few stanzas, wherein he describes the nature of God :

¹cf. Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol IV., p.84.

“ The supreme Viṣṇu is absolutely independent, and the young maiden called *Māyā* is resting by His chest. Brahmā and Vāyu are the chief Ministers. Śeṣa, Rudra, Garuḍa, Indra, the Sun, etc., are called the masters of all the organs of sense. (17, 1). Having distributed His own independence, and having placed it according to the requirements in Gods, men and demons, He enjoys there Himself. He having remained in all the three, He does not undergo any modification Himself, and gives them the goal they deserve (17, 6). If the (dualities in the Universe) good and bad actions, committed by the organs of senses, are offered to Him, (He) Govinda receives the good actions and burns away the bad ones (17, 9). He, being the ocean of great kindness, gives the good and bad fruits. He taught (the *Jīvas*) how to enjoy and suffer. (17, 10). Is it possible that darkness and the Sun can ever remain in one place ? Is there any fear of the surrounding cold or the heat of the Sun to mountains ? So also (is the case of) the Lord of Laxmi. He lives in all the *Jīvas*, and does all the actions just like a lotus in a lake (which though being in water, remains unaffected by the same). (17, 12). He is the Lord of the Universe, the father of Brahmā, the killer of his maternal uncle and the Lord of Madhva. He is (altogether) free from fear. He (is) the creator of the *Jīvas*, and is (possessed of the light) of innumerable Suns. (He), the Over-Lord, the protector of the wife of Gautama, the protector of the unprotected and the highest preceptor, Jagannātha Viṭhala, protects the devotees that have relied on Him.” (17, 15).

13. Further, the poet describes Him as :

“ He is described by the Gāyatrī ; He is the Overlord of the gods ; (He is the) dweller in the three worlds ; (He is the) father of the Ganges ; and (He is of) Three

exploits. He is very fond of the meek. He, having a body of the colour of a blue lotus, possesses a body of immeasurable pleasure and quality. He is the Lord of Vaikuṇṭha and other worlds. He is pervading in the three Vedas, and protects His devotees without any deceit (12, 25). He is far away from the smell of sin. He takes various guises, and is the protector of all the three worlds. He is the most ancient, and is worshipped by Indra and others—He pleases all, and bestows upon His devotees whatever is asked for (12, 29). He resides in the deities and demons, and does actions according to their intrinsic qualities. He is very far from the sins of birth, death, etc, and is born along with the lives. He protects them all the while, just like a serpent which (is all the while) watching wealth. He is a relation, void of any motive” (12, 3).

14. *God and the Jīvas* : The main principle of the Mādhva philosophy in connection with the inter-relation of the Iśvara and the Jīvas is rather subtle. According to the same, God is the efficient cause of the Universe. He resides in the heart of hearts of the Jīvas and works for their welfare, but remains Himself unaffected all the while. Jagannāthadāsa has made this distinction clear in one of the stanzas of the Harikathāmṛitasāra : ‘ Just as the fire within wood and stone seems distinct (from wood and stone) as if having the relation of cause and effect, even so the Lord who is full of kindness, being the (efficient) cause calls Himself as modified — without making (others) aware of it. He makes others do all the actions, and makes them enjoy the fruits of their actions with pleasure ’ (19, 5).

15. *All for the sake of play* : If this be so, one may very well ask, for what is the Lord doing all this ? Why is there all this misery and sorrow in this world ? To meet this, Bādarāyaṇa has replied, that God remains all the while dis-

interested. And it is only as a matter of play that He makes the world to be born, live and fade away. In like manner, Jagannāthadāsa has dealt with this topic in the eighteenth Saṁdhi. He has given a very beautiful simile as an illustration of this : ' Just as the kiddies play with a stick-horse, even so the Lord, only as a matter of play, submits Himself to those who are His own and acts with the fools otherwise, without however presenting Himself (before them).' (18, 6).

Jagannāthadāsa further elaborates on the topic of the Reflected Image of God (Bimba-mūrti) and the working of the same (17). He has also dealt with the topic in regard to the attainment of Aparokṣa Jnyāna (24).

(v) Self-surrender.

16. According to the Mādhva philosophy, self-surrender is one of the important factors for the attainment of Mokṣa. Jagannāthadāsa has dealt with this topic in various Chapters of his work. Here is a portion of the same, in which the poet describes the qualities of those who have surrendered their all-in-all to Hari :

" To one, who is merged in the meditation of the Image of purity, who is bowed down by Rudra—every country is a holy country, every time is an auspicious time, all the living souls in the three worlds are fit for donation, all words are hymns, and all the actions are His worshippings (10, 4)— Can the sinful actions affect the deities who wander on the strength of the most graceful glance of the Father of Cupid,—and what if they are in any species of life, or do any kind of action, or meditate on any quality or form of God ? (10, 10). A woman that enjoys to her heart's content, while in union with her husband and begets children, is (still) called as having conquered the senses ; so also, do the multitude of sins affect those broad-minded devotees that are immersed in the best festival called ' the nectar of the story of

Hari' ? (10, 11). A person, who wants to make a show of his strength by swimming against the current in an over-flooded river, would eventually drown himself, his hands getting wearied. Even so, the person that forsakes Hari will suffer from the beginning, having worshipped other deities.... (10, 12). What, if all the holy places and waters in this world are visited? What, if (one) gives donation without distinguishing the worthy from the unworthy? What, if the hymns are repeated? After having purified the body, if one says, that one is the sole master of whatever one does, without admitting that Hari is omnipotent, (what is the use of all this)? (10, 14). If one does not enjoy, like a bee, by keeping one's mind, day and night, engrossed in the lotus-feet of Him, who rides on Garuḍa, what is the use of chastising the body by immersing it in any water wheresoever seen; or, of one's becoming an anchorite and holding a Daṇḍa and Kamaṇḍalu? (10, 14). If one does not kill away desire, lust, anger and the idea of 'mine' and 'myself', what is the use of reading and lecturing on the Stories, Vedas and Purāṇas? Or, what is the good of observing good actions having discarded those that are forbidden? Or, what is the use of controlling the breath by discarding food etc.? (10, 16). Achyuta-Jagannātha Viṭhala, whose lotus-feet are worshipped by Brahmā, is the Soul (Ātmā) possessed of existence, knowledge and bliss. He is supreme amongst all the virtuous. He is the bestower of auspicious blessings and the dweller in the heart of Madhva. He does not forsake those that rely on him forever. He protected the cowherd boys caught in a forest that was blazing on account of wild fire." (10, 20).

(vi) *Efficacy of Name.*

17. Here are a few stanzas composed by Jagannātha on the subject of the efficacy of Name :

“The devotee, who remembers the son of Devaki at the time of playing with kiddies, or while in union (of husband and wife) with pleasure, or while going in procession on an elephant, in a palanquin etc., or while sobbing and yawning, shall never be caught by the servants of Yama, though searched for everywhere (13, 1). Having opened the mouth through glee, woe or forgetfulness, if one utters the two letters ‘Hari, Hari, Hari’, all the miseries shall flee away, just like the fire that enters the great heap of cotton (13, 2). God doth not forsake even for a moment and shall be in the vicinity of those, that remember the Name of the ‘Sinless Form’ everywhere, (even) while sleeping, walking, talking, sitting, working, bathing and eating (13, 3). Will there be the miseries and sins of *Samsāra* to the learned, who enjoy by worshipping and realizing everywhere the Lord of Śrī? And for this, what if one be of any caste, or if one belongs to any country, or does any action (Karma)? (13, 4). He, who knows how to swim in the ocean of the eminent qualities of Vāsudeva, can swim in the ocean of *Samsāra* in this world without any difficulty and cross it immediately. But he, who is struggling through the desire for wicked actions without worry, shall suffer from miseries without even seeing (having an idea of) the path of devotion (13, 5). Is there any fear of the collection of difficulties to one that resides in the holy bed of the Ganges? Is there any danger from serpents to one who resides in the house of Garuḍa? Even so, having forgotten the liberty of the Jīvas (Jīvakartritva) and realized that the Overlord alone is the Doer if one does Karma with this understanding, whatever Karma is done by him, it would not affect him (13, 7). He, who says that he himself does all the good or bad actions, is of the lowest order (Adhama). He, who says that Hari is the cause of good actions,

and himself the cause of bad ones, is of the middle order (Madhyama). He is the best of men, who feels happy by remembering with pleasure that Śrīnivāsa is the author of both the righteous and sinful actions (*Pāpa and Puṇya*), (13, 8). He, who says that the body belongs to him ; he, who says that wife, children, house, wealth etc. are his own ; he, who says that the Ganges and other rivers are the holy ponds (Tirthas); he, who says that the worship of the symbols of fire, metal etc. is itself the worship of God ; and he, who says that the righteous are ordinary human beings, such people are called as hyæna by the learned (13, 10).”

18. *Conclusion* : Jagannāthadāsa was an eminent Kannaḍa writer of the age. The hundreds of devotional songs and Tattvasuvālis composed by him, along with his main work Harikathāmritasāra, are clear indications of his learned scholarship and perfect grasp of the religious and philosophical lore in regard to Vaiṣṇavism. The Harikathāmritasāra, besides the interest it creates for the general reader, has become as if the Bible of those that are inclined towards Mādhvism. A story is current regarding the eminence of the work, that even the deities (Devatās), being enamoured of the undertaking of Jagannātha, appeared before him and asked him, one by one, to include their names also in the work. Such is the master-piece of Jagannāthadāsa indeed !

5. (j) Helavanakatti Giryamma.¹

I. Life-Story.

1. Early in the middle of the eighteenth century, Giryammā was born at Rāṇebennur (District Dharwar) in a Brahmin family. Her father's name is Biṣṭappā Dixit. She was very pious since her young days. She was later on married to one Tippa Ārasā, a Shānbhog of Maḷebennur (District Dharwar). A story is current to the effect that, since the day of the bed-ceremony, as soon as Tippa Ārasā entered the room in the night-time, he used to find a serpent on the bed instead of Giryammā herself, and that this led him to get himself married with a second wife.

Later Giryammā began to reside at Helavanakatti (Maḷebennur) worshipping in the temple of Raṅganātha on the little hillock situated there. The site is still pleasing indeed! She was a worshipper of both Raṅga and Liṅga installed in the temple. Once Giryammā and Gopāladāsa are said to have met with each other in this temple. She was very popular and was being revered by all the people of the surrounding villages.

Giryammā was a contemporary of the great Gopāladāsa and Sumatīndrayati of the Rāghavendraswāmi—Maṭh. Besides the numerous devotional songs, she has written different works also *e.g.* Chandrahāsa, Sitākalyāṇakathe and Uddālīkanakathe.

¹ The numbers of songs referred to in this Chapter are from Giryammanavara Charitre — Kīrtanegalu; Edited by Deshpandē Rangarao, Bangalore City.

Giriyammā departed from this world at Kumāranahallī, which is situated on the banks of the Tungabhadra.

2. The great Maitreyī, Gārgī, Ahalyā, Mīrābāī, Kānhopātrā or Catherine of Siena are some of the famous female saints the world has ever produced. Giriyammā also finds comparison with them. In India, especially, the social ties are so restricted and narrow that women generally do not find any scope to come out on the public platform. But having a firm faith in God and with an un-imaginable boldness, the female saints of India stepped out, and have really set a lesson before the world by preaching that God doth not know the difference of sex, or of caste, creed and communities. Eventually, like her compeer mystics in the other parts of the world, Giriyammā also lead a pious life and offered her all-in-all to Hara and Hari. Her songs are most appealing.

II. Heart-rendings.

3. Giriyammā, in the course of her mystic career, forsook her family and became absolutely engrossed in the worship of Raṅga. Having implored God not to neglect His Title 'the best friend of the devotees' (*Bhakta-vatsala*), she further makes an appeal :

" Oh, Thou, the ocean of kindness ! That thou art the protector of the meek, I believed through awe and reverence. So is it fair that Thou shouldst not protect me having lifted up my hands ? Thou art full of knowledge, omnipotent and dost possess the Title ' the Support of the whole Universe.' Thou art affectionate towards those who adore Thee with love. Oh Raṅga ! Thou art the only God. Thou art an abode of the righteous and the father of Brahmā. Thine children are praising Thee. Thou art the dweller in the hearts of those that remember Thee sincerely. Oh, the father of Cupid ! Thou dost

not make me a but of ridicule in the midst of the righteous. But when I am Thine devotee, Oh Raṅga ! protect me. Thou art the protector of the Elephant and the father of the Ganges. Thou art the protector of the unprotected. Why art Thou not merciful towards me ? Is it fair that Thou shouldst forsake me in the midst of the water (of Saṃsāra) ? So take me to the shore, Oh God ! I understand that there is no other protector ; and I believe that Thou art the most sublime Light (of the Universe). Thy fame knows no bounds. (Thou dost) leave off anger, and dost not mind my vices. Oh Raṅga ! Thou art the friend of the poor ; and Thou art the protector of the honour of Draupadi. Oh Lord ! Thou dost protect me (15)."

4. *Advice to mind* : In spite of her constant efforts, Giriyammā still finds that her mind does not come under control (11). Therefore she advises her mind not to become enamoured of the Saṃsāra. She expresses :

" Oh mind ! why have you become so enamoured ! Leave off wickedness. Do not struggle through the illusion of Saṃsāra having disregarded discretion ; and do not feel perturbed by the desire of land. But remember God. This body is not permanent. Oh mind ! do not be the subject of the tortures of Yama ; and leave off the wicked idea of thinking in terms of ' Thine ' and ' Mine. ' But, know that (you should be) just like the seed in the *chew-nut*. Oh mind ! look at the real value of yourself without minding the vices and virtues of others. Oh mind ! all the outward colouring of this body is just like the fruit of the *Glomerous* fig-tree (*Udumbara*). Oh mind ! serve God and beseech for salvation to your heart's content " (14).

6. Conclusion.

1. The world of mystics may be compared to a finely well-knit flower-garden consisting of different species of plants from all the parts of the world.

World of Mystics. People are endowed with different instincts and inclinations : emotional, passive, intellectual and others. In fact, the hankering of human beings in general after greatness, fame and glory ; or their beastly, cruel and destructive pursuits ; or even their desire for moving in a higher sphere of intellectual thought wherein the ordinary affairs of the mundane world would not affect them—all these belong to the domain of inclinations or instincts, which are themselves directly connected with the working of the mind (*manas*). The Hindus have explained this in terms of the three kinds of qualities : *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. The mystics belong to the better side of these qualities ; and they try to develop—according to their individual inclinations and temperaments, their own power of intellectual thought and fervour, and contribute to this flower-garden of Mysticism. The different opinions they hold may be compared with the different species of plants obtaining in the garden. But all their experiences are equally fresh, beautiful and fragrant as the flowers themselves. Ah ! what a pleasing site it would be, even to imagine that all the purer and holy forms of these mystics from various parts of the world meet together, all the while enjoying in their supersensuous state of mind ! The very idea of a gathering of the different groups of mystics e.g. St. John Paul, St. John of the Cross, Plotinus and others ; or the great Jnyāneśvara, Tūkārāma and Ekanātha ; or Kabir and Tulsidās ; or the great

Śrīpādarāya, Purandara, Kanaka, Vijaya and Jagannātha ; or the great Basava and Sarvajnarāya ; or again the greatest of the female saints of the world—St. Catherine, Martreyī, Ahalyā, Janābai, Mirābāi, Giryammā and others—this very idea of their meeting together in this sweet garden of Mysticism, wherein each has to contribute something of his or her own—is really fascinating indeed !

2. As Dr. Dasgupta has very rightly expressed it : “Mysticism is not an intellectual theory ; it is fundamentally an active, formative, creative, elementary and ennobling principle of life.”¹ Further, **Essentials of Mysticism.** in our opinion, the three terms Religion, Mysticism and Philosophy overlap each other, still remaining distinct. Whereas religion belongs to the broader aspects of life and mysticism to the practical side of the same, philosophy probes deeper into the purer forms of intellectual thought and reasoning. Still the very basis of religion consists of a clearer understanding of a particular line of thought propounded by philosophy. And eventually mysticism indicates the goal to be achieved by following a particular religious system, which is itself based on a particular line of thought or philosophical doctrine.

All mysticism indicates the existence of the idea of a supreme Godhead, towards whom the devotee shows a peculiar kind of nearness and affection along with a sense of reverence and awe. The idea of a certain kind of distinctness between the two can also be perceived there. The goal of mysticism e.g. the attainment of the supreme joy (Ānanda) is common to all the systems of mysticism. A devotee achieves in it by intuition what he or she does so through imagination and reasoning in the far deeper and distant regions of philosophy. Again, the idea of distinctness in life, let it be to any extent, is also accepted by the Mono-Dualist Saints (if we can so

¹ J. N. Dasgupta : *Hindu Mysticism*, Preface, p. ix

term them) of Mahārāṣṭra e.g. Jnyāneśvara and Tukārāma. Tukārāma goes one step further and expresses the difficulty of enjoying the supreme bliss in life without accepting, even for a while, the doctrine of dualism. He addresses God :

“ Thou shouldst be my Lord, and I Thy servant. Thy place should be high, and my place should be low. ”¹

Or again,

‘ Advaitism pleases me not.— Give me the service of Thy feet. Reserve for me this relation between God and devotee, and fill me with happiness.— God’s service alone would suffice.’²

In this manner, we do find some truth in the statement of Dr. Macknicol (as quoted by Prof. Ranade) : “ Not in the Monism of Śaṅkarāchārya, nor the Dualism that is satisfied to remain two, but in a Spiritual Existence that transcends and includes them both, is peace to be found.”³ In Mysticism the attainment of bliss is there—let it be through a devotional fervour towards the Supreme Lord, Hari, Śiva, Jesus, or even the Egyptian Rā and the Hebrew Yahweh.

3. The Dualist Haridāsas of Karnāṭak, like their great Preceptor Madhvāchārya, were the direct devotees of Lord Viṣṇu or Hari and his ten Avatāras. **Cult of the Haridasas.** We need not go into the detail here regarding the various elements of Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva-Kriṣṇa and Gopāla-Kriṣṇa, which contributed to the development of Vaiṣṇavism. The Haridāsas have composed innumerable songs on Kriṣṇa or Kriṣṇa and Rādhā ; but nowhere do they seem to have followed the School of Chaitanya, which has given a unique predominance to the love element of Kriṣṇa and the Gopis. They always look towards God as their

¹ Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra, P. 330

² Ibid. P. 330

³ Ibid, P. 425

Mother, Father, Brother and as their all-in-all in life. Still they remain at a distance and show a peculiar kind of reverence and awe towards Him. The Haridāśas have followed and preached a strict code of morality. They have given a supreme importance to Bhakti, though in their opinion Karma and Jnyāna are the necessary modes of life. Imbued with a spirit of equanimity, dispassionateness (*virakti*), universal love and kindness towards mankind, they, like all the mystics of the world, have proved themselves as torch-bearers to those who still wander in the dim darkness of the dreary Saṁsāra. Their experiences and their expressions have created solace for many ; and even a passer-by may rest himself and quench his thirst by drinking the holy waters of their most sublime and spiritual Teachings.

APPENDIX A (2): CHART Nos. II & III

CHART No. II

Miscellaneous List of the Haridāśas

[Those having Viṭhala at the end of their Title (Ankita)]

Title.	Name.	Preceptor's Name.
1. Achalānanda	Not known	Not known
2. Achyuta	„ „	„ „
3. Aśvattha	„ „	„ „
4. Ānandamaya	„ „	„ „
5. Kanakādri	„ „	„ „
6. Kapila—Daṅkāḍ Kriṣṇappā—		Kamalāpati Viṭhala
7. Karivarada—Kalamadāni Rāmarāo—		Śrīśapraṇēśa „
8. Kudharadhara	Not known	Not known
9. Gaṇḍīśa—Kumpanipura Subaṇṇāchārya—		Kamalāpati Viṭhala
10. Guru Kamalāpati—Utakura Laxmanāchārya—		„ „
11. Guru Jagannātha	Not known	Not known
12. Guru Jaya—Gurāchār		Jaya Viṭhala
13. Guru Mohana—Kampli Tirumaldāsa—		Mohana Viṭhala
14. Guru Rāja	Not known	Not known
15. Govinda	„ „	„ „
16. Chaturbhuja	„ „	„ „
17. Jaya—Venkataramanāchār		„ „
18. Jānakipati—Kachoṭi Nāgeśarao—		Kamalāpati Viṭhala
19. Taṇḍē Gōpāla—Veṇiśōmapur Kriṣṭappā—		Gōpāl Viṭhala
20. Dēvēndra	Not known	Not known
21. Dhanvantari	„ „	„ „
22. Nara Kaṇṭhirava	„ „	„ „
23. Narahari (1700 A.D.)	„ „	„ „

APPENDIX—(contd.)

Title.	Name.	Preceptor's Name.
24. Nārāyaṇa—M. Veṅkaṭrao—		Mādhava Viṭhala
25. Padmanābha—	Not known	Not known
26. Pāṇḍuraṅga—	” ”	” ”
27. Putātmā—Kudatanāl Hanmantrao—		Kamalāpati Viṭhala
28. Pradyumna	Not known	Not known
29. Prāṇapati	” ”	” ”
30. Bhīmeśa—Bhīmeśadāsa—		Jagannāth Viṭhala
31. Bhūtanātha—Kumbhakoṇa Bindurāo—		Kamalāpati Viṭhala
32. Manorama—Rāma-Kriṣṇappa—		Śrīśa-Prāṇēśa Viṭhala
33. Mahānidhi	Not known	Not known
34. Mādhava—Jaḍeda Veṅkaṭadāsa—		Kamalāpati Viṭhala
35. Mānanidhi	Not known	Not known
36. Mukunda	” ”	” ”
37. Mēdinīpati	” ”	” ”
38. Melugiri	” ”	” ”
39. Mōḍa—Līṅasura Rāghappā—		Guruprāṇēśa Viṭhala
40. Yadupati—Haḍagali Rāghappā—		Kamalāpati Viṭhala
41. Yogendra—Kowtāla Yogeṇḍrappā—		Jagannātha Viṭhala
42. Raghurāmā	Not known	Not known
43. Lakṣmīśa	” ”	” ”
44. Varada-Kamalāpati—Utkur Rāmarao—		Kamalāpati Viṭhala
45. Varada—Vālagahalli (1751 A.D.)		Not known
46. Varadeśa—Kelur Swāmirao—		Śrīśa-Prāṇēśa Viṭhala
47. Vāmana	Not known	Not known
48. Veṅkaṭēśa—Bellāri Veṅkappa-Joisaru (1823-1925)		” ”
49. Vaikuṇṭha	Not known	” ”
50. Vyāsapati	” ”	” ”
51. Śyāmasundara	” ”	” ”
52. Śrikara—Gutti Śrinivāsarao—		Guru Madhvēśa Viṭhala
53. Śrīdhara	Not known	Not known
54. Śrinātha	” ”	” ”
55. Śrī Ramaṇa—Kumāra-Kālvi Narasingappā—		Kamalāpati V.

APPENDIX—(contd.)

Title.	Name	Preceptor's Name.
56. Śri Rāmasundara	Not kuown	Not known
57. Śri Rāja	„ „	„ „
58. Śri Vatsānkita	„ „	„ „
59. Śri Viśva	„ „	„ „
60. Surapati	„ „	„ „
61. Sōbagu	„ „	„ „
62. Swāmi	„ „	„ „
63. Hanumēśa	„ „	„ „
64. Hari Viṭhala—Guṇṭkal Rāmappā—		Kamalāpati Viṭhala
65. Dnyānamaya	Not known	Not known

CHART No. III

(Those whose Titles do not end with the word Viṭhala.)

Nom-de-plume.	Name of the Dāsa
1. Achyuta	.. Not known.
2. Ādikeśava (Ś. 1492)	.. Kanakadāsa.
3. Aihoḷe Veṅkaṭa (1830-1915)	.. Bhimarao, R. Kulkarni.
4. Anantādrīśa	.. Gombi Anantāchār.
5. Belūr-Veṅkaṭa	.. Not known
6. Beṭṭada-Śrīnivāsa	.. „
7. Bhagavad-dāsa	.. „
8. Channakeśava	.. Belur Veṅkaṭadāsa.
9. Dhīra-Veṇugopāla	.. Śri-Rāghavendra Swāmy of Mantrālaya Maṭh.
10. Gadagina Vīra-Nārāyaṇa (1445 A. D.)	.. Nārānappā of Koliwād.
11. Gopāla (1815 A. D.)	.. Tammaṇṇa Aparal-Raichur
12. Gopāla-Kriṣṇa	.. Not known.
13. Guru-Hayamukha	.. „
14. Guru-Indīreśa (1890 A.D.)	.. Harpanahalli Kristāchar.

